

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
(1980-81)

VILLAGE STUDY REPORTS

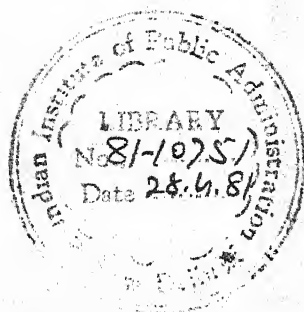
- Karnal (Haryana)
- Bangalore (Karnataka)
- Trivandrum (Kerala)
- Udaipur (Rajasthan)

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

STUDY REPORTS OF VILLAGE IN

- Karnal (Haryana) - General Introduction
(Annexure-A)
- Bangalore (Karnataka)
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CROPPING AND INPUT USE PATTERN

Sixth Advanced Professional Programme in
Public Administration

VILLAGE STUDY REPORT

CROPPING AND INPUT USE PATTERN OF
AGRICULTURE IN A KERALA VILLAGE

C.S.CHADHA

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI

CROPPING AND INPUT USE PATTERN OF AGRICULTURE IN A KERALA VILLAGE

General

A village called Nemom was selected for the purpose of the study. Out of the two villages suggested by the local administration, one with the lesser population was selected. The bigger village has a population of about 1 lakh and therefore was considered rather big. Nemom village, according to the 1971 census had a population of 48,106. It must be clarified that a village in Kerala is generally of about this size and consists of one or more Panchayats. Nemom village has two Panchayats, Nemom and Kalliyoor. Nemom panchayat had a population of 36,381 (1971 census) and approximately 40,000 according to the 1981 estimates. The area of the Nemom panchayat is 5.56 square miles and it consists of eleven wards. The other panchayat consists of twelve wards Ward no. 4, Karumom, from Nemom Panchayat was chosen for the purposes of detailed study.

The village is situated on the National Highway no. 47, at a distance of about 12 kms from Trivandrum. The climate is hot and humid. The area gets a fair share of both the south-west and north-east monsoons. The average rainfall is about 200 cms./year.

Methodology of Study

As has been mentioned above Nemom village consists of two Panchayats, Nemom and Kalliyoor. Unlike in the north where several villages together form a Panchayat, in Kerala, two or more Panchayats constitute a village. The village does not have a separate identity as we are accustomed to see in the northern states, but perhaps is a convenient size of population for the purposes of administration. In fact each Panchayat consists of several wards, e.g. Nemom Panchayat consists of eleven wards. Each ward is more akin in size to a village in the northern states. In fact the villagers identify themselves to be belonging to a particular ward. An indication of this is that several persons had put up name plates, bearing the name of the ward. For the purpose

of the study of the Cropping and Input Use Pattern, the B.D.O. suggested 'Karumom' ward because it consisted of a good cross section of cultivators, marginal cultivators, small farmers and also one so called "big farmer". It also had the Veellayani lake in which the farmers grew paddy. The rain water, in the two rainy seasons, fills up the lake and the agriculture department then dewater the area at the appropriate time to enable proper paddy cultivation without any irrigation. The Karumom ward was therefore chosen and the house to house enquiries were restricted to only those cultivators who lived in the ward and also had their agricultural land in the same ward. An exception was, however, made in one case so as to include a 'big farmer' who had land in the ward but lived in the neighbouring ward. This was done because there was only one farmer having more than five acres of land in the ward. In Kerala a person having more than 5 acres of paddy land in the family is considered to be a big farmer. After having chosen the ward, houses were selected by the random method, and the heads of the families interviewed and questions regarding the cropping pattern and input use were asked and answers noted down. Later on the statistical information was compiled and may be seen at Annexure I and II. Even if the houses were not chosen at random and even if all the houses in a continuous stretch were to be taken it would have given a fair cross section of all types of cultivators because there are no segregations on the basis of caste, religion or economic status. Moreover the houses are situated in the middle of the plots of dry land and no two houses touch each other unlike the houses in most of the other states of India. This is being stressed to emphasize the point that very section of the village has all cross-sections of the society and all types of cultivators. The sample chosen was therefore truly representative of the ward.

Apart from the approximately 40 households interviewed the village extension officer and the B.D.O. were interviewed to find out their views about the pattern of cropping and the input use. Annexure III is a tabulation of the answers given by the V.E.O. & B.D.O. The Assistant District Agricultural Officer was also interviewed but much credence was not given to his replies. Strangely, he tended to over-play the figures of inputs and underplay the figures of yields, perhaps

because he was a cultivator himself and a dissatisfied one at that !! In Kerala there is an agricultural income tax, and he was suspicious that the results of the study would perhaps be used later to his disadvantage. Sensing this, an effort was made to put him at ease and to convince him that the study was of an academic nature and that his identity would be protected but his attitude did not change.

This difficulty was also experienced in the case of other educated interviewees who also had a lurking suspicion that giving the correct information would perhaps place them in a disadvantageous position. A serious effort was made to get rid of this fear but the language barrier was a constraint. On the other hand the uneducated interviewees did not keep correct accounts of the inputs and there was a tendency on their part to consult the V.E.O., who was acting as an interpreter. They were dissuaded from doing so but a certain amount of subjectivity is therefore bound to have crept in.

In order to get an overall picture arithmetic means of the answers were calculated, after removing from the sample answers, the replies which seemed to be too high or too low. Another method could be to rely on the modal values, which would ignore the extreme answers, but due to exclusion of the extremes before calculating the arithmetic means, more or less the same results were obtained.

The Findings

1. Size of Holdings

Due to extreme pressure on land and also due to the ceiling of five acres of agricultural land (excluding land used for coconut, and rubber plantations etc.), the size of land holdings is very small. In Karumon ward there are 460 households out of which only one had more than five acres of land, 30 had between 2.5 to 5 acres and 120 had between 0.10 to 1.5 acres of land. Fifty households had less than even 0.10 acres of land. The remaining were either labourers or self employed persons. The biggest cultivator in the ward had only 7.00 acres of land, 4.00 acres under paddy and 3.00 acres under coconut, and banana plantations. As a result of the extreme pressure on land, it has also become very

expensive to purchase land. Ordinary land varies from about Rs. 1 lakh/acre in the interior to about Rs. 5 lakhs/ acre near, the roadside. Almost all cultivators have both 'wet' and 'dry' lands. The 'wet' land being the one which has been reclaimed as part of the Veellayani lake, in 1968. This is used for cultivating two crops a year of paddy. There is no irrigation in the ward and both paddy and coconut are cultivated by and large without any irrigation. The dry lands are more often than not used for coconut plantation and the house of the cultivator is usually situated on this 'dry' part, surrounded by a grove of coconuts. The houses are therefore not clustered as in villages in other states.

2. Category of Holdings

In Karumom ward all the cultivators owned their land and there were no cases of land leased out or given on mortgage, though in another wards of Nemom Panchayat there were reports of stray cases of leases. Most of the households were not wholly dependent on agriculture; at least one member of each house being either self employed, or an agricultural or brick kiln worker or a government servant.

3. The Soil

The soil in the area was sandy clay or sandy loam, not very conducive to paddy cultivation, though quite useful for coconut plantations.

4. Land Use

The 'wet' land of the ward is entirely situated within the Veellayani lake, which is dewatered by the agriculture department at a cost of Rs.20/ acre, to make it suitable for growing paddy. Although, as shall be seen later, the cultivation of paddy is not very economical and certainly not worth the trouble, the cultivators cannot convert it into land for growing coconut because of the laws of the state. Since land under coconut, banana, rubber etc. plantations is not covered by the Ceiling Act, the government has barred the conversion of paddy lands

into lands for plantations, obviously with a view to obviate the possibility of persons hoodwinking the the ceiling restrictions. Now that all surplus lands have been distributed the government would perhaps do well to permit this change because cultivation of paddy in the state is highly uneconomical compared to the cultivation of coconut, tapioca or other crops.

Apart from paddy the next major crop is coconut, which is very profitable and requires very little effort. Most of the fruit bearing trees have been planted by the fathers or the grandfathers of the present owners. The average life of a tree being 80-90 years. The trees require very little care and the requirement of labour and fertilizer is also much less compared to that for paddy. The trees are also not very susceptible to disease. Although proper application of fertilizer and pesticide would give much higher yields there is a tendency of not paying much attention to cultivation of coconut. The only effort being put in being putting a basket or two of cowdung manure, twice a year, around the roots of the tree, and engaging labour for getting down the coconuts between 6 to 8 times a year. A normal harvest takes about 45 days.

These two are the major crops of the area, though there are a few cases of people growing tapioca on a commercial scale. Tapioca is mostly grown in the area in between coconut trees by many cultivators, on a small scale, mainly for self consumption. There are a few instances of people growing bananas, cloves, pepper and cocoa but not on a large scale. One could see a few trees/plants here and there near the houses. Adequate data therefore could not be collected for these crops, though some data was available for tapioca.

As far as the Cocoa crop is concerned one reason for the crop not being tried on a larger scale in that about 2-3 years ago, M/s Cadburys used to take the cocoa pods for processing but due to the grant of import license to them, they have ceased further purchases and the cultivators have no market for their produce. They are therefore not inclined to take up cocoa plantation seriously - formerly they were getting as much as Rs. 1/pod.

Number of Crops:

Paddy is grown in two seasons, even though there is no irrigation, because of the two monsoon seasons. The southwest monsoon starts in June and lasts till September. The Kharif crop is, therefore, sown in July and harvested by October. The Rabi crop is sown by end of November and harvested by April. Wherever there is assured irrigation (other wards of Nemom village have irrigation facilities from the Neyyar Dam) the Rabi crop is sown in October, harvested by February end and a third crop is sown and harvested just before the rains set in.

Tapioca takes one full year to grow and therefore is a once-a-year crop. Coconut is a perennial crop, in the sense that the trees are tended twice a year and the fruits harvested six to eight times. For the sake of renewing the trees some people raise a few saplings themselves and transplant them at appropriate places in prepared mounds of earth, mixed with cowdung manure.

Produce Per Acre

As far as paddy is concerned the general impression is that the yield per acre is 8-9 quintals per crop. Wherever there is irrigation about 12-15 quintals are produced per acre. However, in Karumom ward the yield is around 8-9 quintals. Out of the 30 respondents whose information has been listed in the Annexures the minimum yield was declared to be 4.60 12.50 quintals/acre. The average yield being 8.2 quintals/acre. The individual who declared his yield to be as low as 4.60 quintals was an ex-govt. official and was perhaps on his guard not to declare correctly, his produce. This was generally the case with Government servants who had retired. The village extension officer was himself a cultivator of the village and was also one of the respondents. Since he was following modern practices and also using a generous dose of fertilisers, he declared the highest yield of 12.50 quintals without any hesitation. At a value of Rs. 150/ quintal the average value

realised is about Rs. 1230 per acre per crop. In addition to the paddy, cultivators can sell their straw for a value between Rs.300 to Rs. 450 per acre. The average yield from straw was found to be Rs. 395/acre. Therefore the average total yield per acre is about Rs.1625/acre. Since we are not going into the economics of the production of rice, we need not include the cost of milling. However for the sake of academic interest the cost of milling is 40 paise/parah - parah being a unit of measurement equal to eight kgs. of paddy. In other words the cost of milling is Rs.5/¶unital.

As far as the yield of coconut is concerned, the replies varied very widely, from as little as 1500 per acre per year to as high as 20,000 per year. Some of the low figures can be explained rationally. The very small holdings are usually the ones which show comparatively low yields, (though there are exceptions) because in the area declared by them it's also included the area occupied by the house, which is situated in the middle of the grove. The larger the area the lesser the percentage occupied by the house, and therefore larger the availability of the land for coconut trees. For example serial no. 7 who assessed his annual turnover to be about 1500/ acre (660/ year from 0.38 acres) has only 0.38 acres of land on which is also built his house.) Another respondent who declared his coconut yield to be 1600/ acre (serial No.12) has only 0.28 acres of dry land, on which is also built his house.

There are only two respondents who assessed their produce to be above 10,000 Coconuts/acre/year. Serial No.24, a retired air-force officer has declared his coconut yield to be 20,000. There could be an element of over assessment but not to a large extent. One reason for the high yield could be the high input of fertiliser the highest by any of the respondents. The other person showing a yield of 12,000/acre is a large cultivator, with 3.50 acres under coconut - the largest for any respondent. If these two figures are ignored the average yield per acre works out to 3590 coconuts; whereas including them the average works out to be 4414 coconuts. However both these figures appear to be on the lower side. According to the village agriculture extension

officer an acre of coconut plantation has about 70 to 80 trees and each tree bears about 80-100 coconuts in six to eight harvests a year. On the average the yield should be $75 \times 90 = 6750$ nuts a year. The price per coconut is Rs.1.50/ coconut and therefore the the yield per acre may vary from about Rs.4500 to Rs.10,000/- per acre. Apart from the yield of coconuts the villagers use the leaves for that ching of roofs and the branches which hold the coconut are dried and sold as fuel. On the average an acre of coconut plantation yields 350 coconut leaves, which at Rs.35 per 100 leaves fetch about Rs.105 per acre. The dried branches fetch another Rs.150 per acre.. Fo coconut. Therefore the other benefits are about Rs.250/- per acre.

As far as tapioca is concerned only two of the respondents had shown cultivation of the crop on a commercial scale. The data was therefore not sufficient to come to any conclusion. However from the discussions with some of the villagers and the VEO, the BDO, it appears that one acre of tapioca can yield upto 10 tonnes of tapioca in one year, which at Rs.050 per kilogramme is worth about Rs.5000/-; however the transportation cost to the market is about Rs.100 per tonne and the gross yield per acre can be considered to be about Rs.4000 per acre.

Cropping pattern before ten years

None of the respondents said that the cropping pattern had changed over the last ten years. The only change seems to have taken place around 1968, when the land within the vellayani lake was reclaimed. Further due to the introduction of high yielding varieties, and chemical fertilisers, agricultural practices have changed but this was also around 1968-70.

Croppers Share

Since there are no share croppers, and all land is held by the owners themselves, there is no question of different shares of the croppers. All produce goes to the tiller who is also the owner of the land.

Area Under Irrigation

As has been mentioned earlier there is no irrigation in the Karumom ward; however, there is irrigation in some of the other wards, from the Neyyar Dam.

Input pattern

a) Labour

A strange practice found among even the small cultivators having as little as 0.50 acres of paddy land is that they themselves or the members of their families do not work on the fields. They sometimes supervise the work but a shadow price cannot be attributed to their labour because they would have otherwise not sold their labour to other farmers. The general practice is to engage labour for all agricultural operations. The labourers also bring their own implements.

Labour inputs for paddy

- i) Before paddy is sown, the ploughing operations are carried out by hired bullocks, ploughs and labour. The persons who plough the land bring their own ploughs and bullocks. Even the 'bigger' cultivators do not maintain their own ploughs and bullocks, barring few exceptions. Each pair of bullocks, plough and the man using them cost Rs.25 per day. According to the survey conducted the number of 'man day' employed for this purpose varied from 5 to 12- the general answer being about 8 man days per acre. The average of the figures tabulated in Annexure-I is also eight 'mandays' and therefore the average cost of labour for ploughing alone is Rs.200 per acre.

The fields need bunding and digging, which is done by men. Men also do the work of application of fertilizer manure and pesticides. According to the survey the assessment in this regard - of total 'man days' used - varied from as little as 6 to as high as 37. One of the reasons for this variation is that even though the area under paddy may be a fraction of an acre a minimum number of men had to be employed for the operation of digging and bunding, fertilizer application, and pesticide spraying, thus adding to the cost. The average number of man days employed for the operations mentioned above is 16/acre. The wage rate being very high, compared to other states, the cost of one man - day being Rs.15, the cost of labour on these accounts alone is Rs.240/acre

Women are employed for transplanting, weeding and other operations of interculture. The number of 'woman days' per acre also varied from as low as 15 to as high as 42. The average being 28 per acre. Harvesting of paddy as also transport of the paddy to the residence of the cultivator is done by both men and women but the payment is in kind. Each labourer is engaged on a contract basis and the payment in kind is not on a per day basis but on the basis of the area harvested. The survey showed that the amount of paddy given for harvesting varied from

- 1.1 Quintals/acre to 3.6 quintals per acre. The average being 2.2 quintals, which at Rs.150/quintal may be valued at Rs.330 per acre.

The average labour cost per acre of paddy is therefore as high as $240+280+330+200 = \text{Rs.}1050$ per acre.

This is the general practice but only two of the respondents were using a power - tiller on hire for ploughing. The cost of using the power tiller is almost the same as that of manual ploughing. A cultivator having 0.20 acres of land stated that he used a power tiller for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours for ploughing at the rate of Rs.25/ hour. The cost works out to Rs.37.50 for a fifth of an acre or about Rs.190/ acre. When asked why all cultivators did not use the power tiller they said that they were afraid of the labour unions and would be beaten up if they used machinery and laid off labours.

ii) Labour for Coconut

Men are employed to dig around the root of the coconut tree, for the purpose of loosening the earth and also applying a dose of manure twice a year. The practice varied very widely and the smaller cultivators just did not bother to use enough manure or chemical fertiliser because they got at least 2000 coconuts/ acre anyway. Men are also employed for bringing down the fruit, the payment for which is both in cash and in kind. A queer practice found was that while charging in kind for

the labour bringing down the coconuts a charge of one-two coconuts was also made for the use of a ladder (brought by the labourer. The cost of labour, both in cash and in kind per acre of coconut varied from Rs.280 to Rs.1200 per acre. One cultivator only gave Rs.150/- as the total labour cost as he himself brought down the fruit. No shadow price has been attributed to his personal labour because he does not get work round the month, and is employed for only ten days in a month. He does his own work when idle. The average labour cost is Rs.550 per acre.

- iii) As far as tapioca is concerned, as mentioned earlier, adequate data was not available, but from the data furnished by the VEO and the BDO, 30 mandays are required per acre for digging and making mounds of earth in which tapioca is planted, 5 mandays for planting the stems, 10 mandays for interculture, application of manure and pesticide/weedicide etc and 8 mandays for harvesting, making a total of 53 mandays, i.e. Rs.795/- per acre.

b) Agricultural Implements

The cultivators do not maintain their own implements as the agricultural labourers bring their own implements, traditionally. Only some spades are owned for the purpose of digging and making bunds. There is no trend towards the use of modern machinery such as tiller, and harvester or threshers as the labour movement is very strong and the so called 'land lords' or land owners are afraid of being beaten up if they take to modern methods of agriculture.

c) Seeds

About 30 kg of local seeds are used per acre of paddy per crop. However the general practice is to use the local variety of paddy for the Rabi crop and the Hybrid varieties for the Kharif crop. The Hybrid varieties are more costly, Rs.2 to Rs.3 per kg. compared to Rs.150/ kg of the local variety. However, only about 20 kg of the hybrid variety would suffice as against 30 kg of the local variety. The average cost being nearly the same. According to the survey the cost of seeds per acre varied from Rs.35 to Rs.75 per acre. One cultivator

mentioned a high cost of Rs.116 per acre because he lost his seeds sown in the first instance due to flooding by untimely rains. Ignoring that figure the average cost of seeds per acre worked out to Rs.57 per acre. The H.Y. varieties of seeds are Triveni, Jyothi, Rohini etc.

As far as coconut is concerned the cost on seed/saplings is too little to be of any consequence. Since the average life of coconut trees is eighty to ninety years the renewal of trees is rarely done. A few coconuts are buried in the backyard to raise saplings which are later transplanted in prepared mounds of earth mixed with manure and fertiliser. Tapioca is planted by using cuttings of stems from old plants and does not cost any money. The cost of labour of cutting the old plants is all that is required. The cost of labour has already been taken into account.

d) Fertilisers

Paddy cultivation is more according to modern lines and cultivators have taken to the use of chemical fertilisers freely, unlike for coconut for which hardly any chemical fertilisers are used.

According to the survey the amount of chemical fertiliser used per acre of paddy varied from 40 Kg/acre to 150 Kg/acre. The latter figure being much higher than the recommended dosage of 75 - 100 Kg. The average use of chemical fertiliser worked out to be 78 Kg/acre, which is very near the recommended value and the cost per Kg is Rs.2/kg. Therefore the cost of fertiliser purchase is Rs.276/-

Although adequate data is not available for tapioca, the average cost of chemical fertiliser per acre is 150 Kg worth about Rs.200/acre.

e) Manure

Cowdung manure is used for all crops, i.e. paddy, coconut and tapioca. Villagers usually do not buy cowdung manure and get it from their own cows. However, bigger cultivators have to buy the Manure. One cart load of cowdung manure costs Rs.75 - Rs.100 and one lorry load about Rs. 500/-. According to the survey conducted the value of

cowdung manure for paddy varied from Rs.75/acre to Rs.375/acre. The average consumption being Rs.189/- per acre which is very close to the average figure of Rs.200/- per acre expressed by the V.E.O. and the B.D.O.

For coconut the total cost on manure & fertilisers has been clubbed because very few use chem-fertilisers. The cost varied from Rs.75/- to Rs.600/- per acre, the average being Rs.225/ acre.

For tapioca the average use should be about 5 cartloads per acre or about Rs.500/- per acre.

f) Pesticide

Pesticides are used by almost all cultivators for paddy, though only one person claimed to use it for coconut also, the latter crop being generally free from pests or disease. The use of pesticide per acre of paddy varied from Rs.20 per acre to Rs.65/- acre; aht average being Rs.36 per acre.

g) Credit

Generally the cultivators are not accustomed to take loans and manage with their own money. Only two took loans from acheduled banks for agricultural purposes. However, it was felt that there was some prevalence of money lending, but perhaps for purposes of celebrating marriages & festivals.

h) Other Costs

Each cultivator paid Rs.2/- per acre as land revenue to the State and Rs.20/- per acre as dewatering charges for cultivating paddy in the Veelayani Lake.

The overall picture for Paddy

Yield per acre/crop, 8.2 quintals	Rs.1,230.00
Yield per acre of Straw	<u>Rs. 395.00</u>

Gross Yield Rs.1,625.00/acre

Input Costs

	Rs.
Cost of seeds	57
Cost of male labour	240
Cost of female labour	280
Cost of ploughing	200
Cost of labour for Harvesting (2.2 quintals paddy/acre)	330
Cost of fertilisers	156
Cost of manure	189
Cost of pesticide	36
Other costs	22

Total Rs.1510/acre/crop

Therefore the average nett gain from paddy cultivation per crop is as low as Rs.115/-acre. In some cases the cultivators have also shown a loss in paddy cultivation. They cannot change over to other forms of cultivation due to a Government ban and they also feel more secure if they grow paddy for at least their own consumption. The main reason for the poor net gain from paddy cultivation is the extremely high labour cost which is Rs.1050/- acre on the average. This is due to the high wage rate.

The overall picture for coconut

Average yield per acre higher figure Rs.4414 x 1.5
= Rs.6621/acre

Lower figure Rs.3590 x 1.5
=Rs.5385/acre

Average cost of labour = Rs.550/-

Average cost of fertiliser
and manure = Rs.225/-

Total Cost Rs.775/-

Net gain from Coconut = 4,610 to Rs. 5,846/acre

The overall picture for Tapioca

Average yield per acre	Rs. 5,000/acre
Cost of transportation to market	<u>Rs.1,000/acre</u>
Average gross yield	Rs.4,000/acre
Labour cost	Rs.795/acre
Fertiliser cost	Rs.200/acre
Manure Cost	<u>Rs.200/acre</u>
Total	Rs.1195/acre
Net gain	<u>Rs.3805/acre</u>

From the above Analysis it is clear that Coconut is the most profitable with an average nett gain of about Rs Rs.4610 to Rs.5846/acre. However, cultivation using better methods, higher dosage of chemical fertilisers & manure may gain as much as Rs.9000/acre.

Summing Up

The overall picture therefore shows that paddy cultivation is not all attractive. Coconut is very profitable and least troublesome, Tapioca is a very good food crop, with good financial returns but due to inexplicable reasons has not been very wide spread. The cultivators are enjoying the nature's bounty of good rains and a sandy soil which is ideal for Coconut cultivation. Many have not even taken any pains over their Coconut groves which they have inherited from their ancestors.

VILLAGE STUDY REPORT

Subject : **CROPPING AND INPUT USE PATTERN**

A study of Eklingpura and Kaladwas Villages

Block : Girwa

District : Udaipur, Rajasthan

M. P. VASUDEVA

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VILLAGE STUDY

As a part of the above programme, a team of seven members, with Dr. P.M. Varma of the IIPA as Supervisor, conducted a socio-economic study of two villages - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - in the Girwa Block of Udaipur District in Rajasthan for two weeks from December 1, 1980. The members of the team and the subjects of their study are given below:-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Subjects</u>
1. Shri P.K. Bagchi	Pattern of indebtedness and bondage.
2. Shri P.U.C. Chowdary	Inter-Caste relations.
3. Shri L.R. Julka	Condition of agricultural labour.
4. Shri D.C. Mishra	Perception of development & change.
5. Shri V.K. Seth	Consumption Pattern.
6. Shri H.P. Vasudeva	Cropping and input use pattern.
7. Miss H. Vijayalakshmi	Status of women.

The broad framework of the report is as under:-

Part-I. Carries a brief description of Udaipur District, the Girwa Block and the two villages of Eklingpura and Kaladwas. It also explains the reasons for selection of these two villages for the above study. This portion has been prepared jointly by the study team from the information collected, as well as that supplied by the District Administration.

Part-II Gives a general introduction of the specific subject of study, the objectives and the methodology followed.

Part-III Presents an analysis of the data collected and the conclusions of the member concerned.

Part-IV Contains supporting annexures.

The members of the study team are grateful to the officials of the District Administration of Udaipur, who extended the necessary assistance and co-operation in all possible manner to enable the team to conduct a meaningful study. The members also place on record their deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Varma, who, besides being a source of inspiration, rendered valuable guidance all through.

New Delhi
December 20, 1980.

Signature.

PART I

PROFILE OF THE DISTRICT, BLOCK AND THE VILLAGES

Hallowed by the heroic battles fought by Maharana Pratap against Akbar's mighty Mughal forces, Mewar, the Kingdom of Sisodia Rajputs, occupies a unique place in the Indian History. Udaipur, founded in the year 1567 by Maharana Uday Singh, was the last of the capitals of the State of Mewar.

Thoughts of the desert seem a mirage in the serene coolness of the lake-borne city of Udaipur. Cupped with soft-green hills, the opiate beauty of this city is like a joyous miracle in the dusty, wind-blown heat of Rajasthan. Still evoking the rich sensibilities of a royal lineage, long gone by, the dreamy city of Udaipur is unique in its elusive, feminine quality amongst the masculine citadels of Rajasthan. Shimmering and twinkling, the lakes of Pichola, Fateh Sagar, Swaroop Sagar and Uday Sagar give the city its haunting beauty.

Historically famous and culturally rich, the present district of Udaipur abounds with a number of interesting places. Haldighati, where a valiant battle was fought by Rana Pratap, riding his gallant horse, Chetak, is in this district. Nathdwara, where the great temple of Srinathji enshrines a unique monolithic black-stone image of Sri Krishna, is only fortyeight kilometres north of Udaipur. The Eklingji temple, on the shores of a lake, houses the presiding deity of the Ranas of Mewar.

Situated around 75° longitude and 24° latitude, in the South-western part of Rajasthan, Udaipur district is dotted with green, lofty and minerally rich Aravalli ranges. Endowed with a temperate and healthy climate, the district has seventeen tehsils, divided into eighteen blocks.

The district is predominantly rural, with 3,116 villages and 92 per cent of the population living in villages. The ancient tribe of Bhils, also known as Gamethis, whose close association with the Ranas of Mewar was symbolised in the emblem of that State, constitute a sizable one-third of the population of the district. Latest estimates put the total population of the district at 2.4 million.

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PART I

PROFILE OF THE DISTRICT, FLOCK AND THE VILLAGES

Hallowed by the heroic battles fought by Maharana Pratap against Akbar's mighty Mughal forces, Mewar, the Kingdom of Sisodia Rajputs, occupies a unique place in the Indian History. Udaipur, founded in the year 1567 by Maharana Uda Singh, was the last of the capitals of the State of Mewar.

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Agriculture forms the backbone of the district with two-thirds of the population making a living out of it. Due to the hilly terrain, the area is rocky and uneven, with very low water table. The rainfall is also scanty, averaging around 630 mms. The rural economy, which has to sustain itself through agriculture, is adversely affected by the vagaries of nature. The rainfall is often quite untimely and erratic. The district is also drought-prone and has been famine-stricken for the last four years continuously, causing damage to the economic equilibrium.

The farmers in the district have to put forth more than average efforts to eke out a living. Man-made distortions and fragmentation of land have also contributed to the situation. The district, with predominantly small land holdings, has a total area of two million hectares of which only 18 per cent is cultivated. The area under more than one crop constitutes only 43 per cent of the cultivated area. Nearly three-fourths of the holdings are under three hectares, while holdings below one hectare account for half of the cultivated area.

The principal crop is maize, which is evident from the famous slogan in the area - "Gehoon Chodna Makki Khana, Mewar Chodkar Kahin na Jana". Other important crops are wheat, barley, gram and pulses. Foodgrains account for 85 per cent and Oil-seeds for 8 per cent of the total area under cultivation.

The district has been declared by the Government as an industrially-backward area. However, a few large and medium scale industries have sprung up in and around Udaipur city. These include the Hindustan Zinc Limited, J&K Tyres Ltd., Pesticides India Ltd., Udaipur Cotton Mills, etc. While there are 731 units in the small-scale sector, cottage and household industries number about 11,500. The employment potential of these industrial units works out to a meagre 6 per cent of the total work force available in the district.

The Block:

The Girwa Panchayat Samiti is contiguous to Udaipur City. The

Samiti consists of 161 villages and 35 Gram Panchayats. The population of the Samiti is 2.34 lakhs out of which 56,000 belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Out of a total area of 1.31 lakh hectares, only 0.25 lakh hectares are cultivable. The land holdings are also small with 85 per cent of the total holdings being under three hectares.

The Samiti is thus fairly representative of the district with regard to the occupational patterns, area under cultivation, land holdings, distribution of population, etc.

The Villages under Focus:

Two adjacent villages, Eklingpura and Kaladwas, along with a third village Manwakhera, form part of the Gram Panchayat of Kaladwas. The two villages selected for study - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - are about a kilometre apart from each other and lie on the Udaipur-Jhamar Kotra Road and are about seven and ten kilometres respectively from the district headquarters of Udaipur.

Both these villages were established around 1450 AD. The Bhils, who were natives of the area, were displaced by the Dangis, the farmers' community. Originally known as Rohiad Pura, the village Eklingpura obtained its name during the reign of Maharaja Bhupal Singh of Mewar State. Eklingji, as already mentioned, is the presiding deity of the State of Mewar. There is an old Shiva temple in the village, in a cave, which is the oldest structure in the area. 'Poornima Mela', a village fair, is held on every full-moon day.

These villages had the distinction of having received a foreign dignitary, when Mr. Malcolm Fraser, the Australian Prime Minister, visited them in January 1979. This historic visit has been commemorated by naming the road leading to Eklingpura as 'Fraser Lane'. Para

Parakakhet is a hamlet of Kaladwas, wherein live the Scheduled Tribe, the Bhils or Gamethis. It is two-and-a-half kilometres from the main village.

WHY THESE TWO VILLAGES WERE SELECTED FOR STUDY ?

The selection of these two villages for the purpose of this study was made on the basis of accessibility, exposure to various development programmes and proximity with block and district headquarters. These villages are also representative villages of the district with regard to rainfall, proportion of irrigated land and tribal population.

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE VILLAGES

The following are the salient features of the villages under study:

<u>Population:</u>	<u>Kaladwas</u>	<u>Eklingspura</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male	719	416	1135
Female	669	357	1026
Total:	1388	773	2161
Scheduled Castes	116	43	159
Scheduled Tribes	433	112	545
<u>Households:</u>			
a) Kaccha	300	105	405
b) Pakka	45	54	99
Total:	345	159	504
<u>Literacy:</u>			
Number of literates	351	271	622
Number of illiterates	1037	502	1539
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Occupations:</u>			
Number of workers	416	259	675
Number of non-workers	972	514	1486
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Workers:</u>			
Cultivation	261	177	438
Household industries	10	4	14
Manufacturing	40	9	49
Construction	25	11	36
Agricultural Labourers	9	10	19
Trade & Commerce	7	4	11
Mining	11	5	16
Others	53	39	92
Total:	416	259	675
<u>Area: (in acres)</u>			
a) Geographical Area	2090	1823	3913
b) Area under cultivation	780	724	1504
i) Area irrigated	477	359	836
ii) Area unirrigated	303	365	668
Total:	780	724	1504
No. of wells with electric pump-sets	51	35	86
No. of tractors in the village	-	1	1

* according to 1971 Census.

-:: 5 ::-

Crops: (in acres) Kaladwas Eklingpura Total

a) Kharif

Maize	359	309	668
Sugarcane	38	23	61
Vegetables	13	18	31
Other Crops	59	25	84
Total:	469	375	844

b) Rabi

Wheat	164	201	365
Barley	86	80	166
Gram	30	39	69
Vegetables	4	8	12
Fodder	27	21	48
Total:	311	349	660

Land-holdings:

Less than 2.5 acres	231	72	303
2.5 to 5 acres	57	50	107
5.1 to 7.5 acres	30	16	46
7.6 to 10.0 acres	10	10	20
Above 10 acres	17	11	28
Total:	345	159	504

Other Details:

Schools:

No. of primary schools	1	1	2
No. of middle schools	1	-	1

Students:

No. of boys	208	75	283
No. of girls	20	21	41
Total.	228	96	324

Post Office	1	-	1
Sub-centre of Health	1	-	1

Distance from District Headquarters	10 Km	7 Km	
Distance from Block Headquarters	10 Km	5 Km	
Distance from Railway Station	5 Km	6 Km	

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PART-III

Introduction, Objectives and Methodology:

Indian society is basically a traditional society and so is the case with the Indian farmer. He always likes to follow the traditions of his ancestors. This act or practice may also be due to the fact that experience gained by one generation is passed on to the next generation. These traditional aspects of Indian way of life always acted as barrier. It never provided any scope for innovation not only in the field of agriculture, but also in other walks of life. It is this aspect, which always acted as obstacle and impeded the process of directed change in a developing country like ours.

The Indian farmers were always influenced by their traditional and narrow thinking. This made them averse to the use of new technology even as late as 1967-68. The factors like recurrent drought, or pest infestation also prevented their, opting for a more remunerative set of crops. The question, whether a farmer should have a choice of growing a particular set of crops to get a larger return in preference to another set of crops for which there is greater need in the country, still stand unanswered. In a sound economy these type of conflicts between the farmers and national interest do not find any place. In planned and developing economy, the reconciliation can be achieved through a system of such regulated prices as would ensure a proper allocation of land resources to the different crops. For instance, if more wheat or rice is needed, then the prices of these commodities should be allowed to increase in preference to any other crop. This will give incentive to the farmers to increase land under these crops and thereby increase the production of these commodities, which ultimately will result in the change of cropping pattern also.

The Indian farmers have always used traditional tools and other inputs for cultivation or raising of crops. This

continuance is due to the facts of tradition, illiteracy and other barriers. The situation slightly improved when he was made to understand the use of improved inputs like fertilizer, pesticides and irrigation facilities. The improved inputs made it possible to change the cropping structure i.e. from single crop to double crop or even multiple crop in certain areas. This changed cropping structure revolutionised the food production. This revolution not only made the country self sufficient in food grains, but also placed the country in a position to remove the yoke of PL-480.

The green revolution in the country could only be made possible due to the fact that proper recognition has been given to cropping pattern and the use of improved inputs. Before the green revolution, the Indian farmers hardly tried to exploit the capabilities of the soil through changed cropping and inputs patterns. In other words one can say that the country's crop enterprise remained managed uneconomically. There are of course some regions, which made the best possible use of new technology and improved inputs to exploit the soil for better agriculture production. There are also regions in which either nothing has been done or there is scope for further improvements.

Objectives:

With this background, the present study has been conducted in two villages - Eklingpura and Kaladwas of Girwa block in Udaipur district, Rajasthan. The main objectives of the study are:-

- a) To find out the variation in the cropping pattern followed by the various categories of the farmers.
- b) To study changes in the cropping patterns followed by various categories of farmers (Marginal, Small, Others) and use of input supply with particular reference to the number of crops, type of crops and acreage for each type as also the contributory factors therefor.

Methodology

Collection of Data:

The schedule of collection of data was divided into two phases; one the listing of households and second the selection and recording of information.

Since the study pertains to cropping and input use pattern, households having cultivable land were only listed. While listing cultivable household no distinction was made between tenancy cultivation and owner cultivation.

In the second phase, selection of sample and recording of information was done in respect of 30 households. While drawing sample it was ensured that the sample taken from each category (Marginal, Small and Big) is representative and balanced. In sampling, random sampling method was followed.

The following table shows the listing of number of households, land holding category wise and the number and percentage of random sample taken out of each category.

Table No.1

Land holding category	Number of land holding	Number of random sample	Percentage of each
0-2.5 acres (Marginal)	121	15	12.4
2-5.5 acres (Small)	107	9	8.4
5 acres and above (Big)	94	6	6.5

To maintain uniformity in the recording of information a questionnaire was prepared and used for the purpose of interviewing the people and collection of data.

Table No.2

	% of land holding	% of the samples
Upto 5 acres	70	80
Above 5 acres	30	20

Limitation of the Study:

Though every effort and care have been taken to collect the data, ~~but~~ it is still prone to inaccuracies due to following factors:-

- a) The sample is quite small as compared to the population of the villages.
- b) A thorough and accurate collection of data could not be made due to paucity of time.
- c) The question and answer method of collecting data^{due to} can never yield result of high degree accuracy/following reasons.
 - i) It is very monotonous, both for the questioner as well as for the respondent.
 - ii) The respondents did not want to divulge the information relating to land, crop and produce or relating to subletting of land for the reasons best known to them.
 - iii) The information given by the respondent may not be full and whatever given may be coloured and exaggerated.
 - iv) In answering many questions, the respondent had to rely on his memory which may not be accurate in every case.
 - v) It is not possible to maintain consistency in asking the same set of questions to every household.

Owing to all these reasons the data collected during this study cannot be considered as ^{completely} accurate.

Factors influencing the cropping pattern in general:

Some of the specific factors that influence the cropping pattern in an area are discussed below.

Soil:

The importance of soil in growing plants and crops has been recognised since time immemorial. Along with atmosphere, soil constitutes the natural medium which supports the growth of plants on earth surface. It not only serves as reservoir of food materials and water needed by plants, but also provides a mechanical anchorage for them.

Generally soil can be divided into four classes. Though the local names may vary from place to place, the common names used are Kewal (clay), Paura (clay loam), Doras (loam) and Balsundri (sandy loam). The highly sandy soil are usually unfit for most crops. Depending on whether the soil is black, red, or yellow it is designated as red Kewal or Yellow paura etc. Beside these there are seh or usar and diara or char lands. Usar lands are either infertile or uneconomic for agricultural purposes. Diara lands formed by fresh deposit near the river banks are very fertile.

Kewal soil is generally suitable for rabi crop cultivation. It has high water holding capacity. Paura is generally black in colour and is very rich for cultivation of wheat, sugarcane etc. In Doras soil, rice, sugarcane and rabi crops are grown depending on the level of land mass. In high land doras soil, potatoes, vegetables etc. are grown. Balsundri soil is used for both bhadaï and rabi crops but require sufficient irrigation.

In the area of study the general pattern of soils are clay, loam, red loam, sandy loam and gravelly soil. The soils in the area are suitable for almost all types of Kharif and rabi crops. In the gravelly soil and rocky area, grass is allowed to be grown during moonsoon, which is used as fodder for animals. During other seasons this land is used for pasture purposes. This land is also called parrot land.

Rainfall and Irrigation: Water is called elixir of life. It is a must to sustain any type of life on this earth. Rainfall helps in maintaining moisture availability in soil, water level in wells and fill the ponds and tanks which are used for irrigation purposes. The retention of moisture in soil is essential for raising crops. When the soil becomes dry, then land is irrigated to maintain the moisture-content. The pattern of rainfall, the timing, spacing and its quantum normally decide the type of crops to be growth in an area. In areas where there is sufficient rainfall and good irrigation facilities paddy, wheat and other rabi crops are grown. Kharif is normally a monsoon crop and its production is directly related to the pattern and quantum of rainfall in the area. Maize, pulses, oil seeds etc. constitute Kharif crops.

Irrigation in an area can be done only through the sources of surface wells, tanks, tube wells etc. For all this it is necessary that the rainfall maintains the water table in the area. Water table can also be raised with the help of canals, which serve dual purposes of making water channel in the area and keeping the water level in the wells quite high. It also helps in saving the labour to dig deep wells. Wells with sufficient water help in raising double or even multiple crops depending on the soil conditions.

Cropping Pattern - Area under study - general observations:

Nature of Soil:

The general area of these two villages is sub-mountainous rocky, sandy and undulated. These characteristics project typical patterns for raising of crops in this area. The pattern is entirely different from the plains or hills where the normal fields are either big size or of terrace type respectively. In these villages the cultivation is done both on plain fields as well as on terrace field.

Position of water supply:

The water availability is another important factor in deciding the crop to be raised in an area. In this area, water table is low and so the wells have to be dug deep. The rocky area also makes the digging difficult and one is not sure at what depth one will find the water. The mountainous and rocky area does not absorb and retain water for sufficiently long spells, with the result the soil is dry and moisture-less. On the slopes of the hill, the water runs down very fast, which leads to soil erosion.

The Girwa Panchayat Samati area receives an average rainfall of 635 millimetres. This is the average worked out on the basis of records for last 10 years. This year the rainfall is very unusual in timing, quantum and spacing. During three months, June to August '80, the rainfall recorded was 488 millimetres. The erratic behaviour of the monsoon and its premature withdrawal has resulted in wide spread drought and consequent failure of kharif giving rise to a situation of extreme scarcity in the district. Major portion of the district has been declared famine stricken and taken under drought prone area programme. The villages under study situated on both sides of the rivulet could not however be declared as such since they did not meet the prescribed standards in this regard. Rainfall figures during the last four years for the Girwa Panchayat Samiti are given below:-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Rainfall</u>
1977	560
1978	800
1979	511
1980	538

The figures clearly indicate that there is considerable drop in the rainfall during the last two years. The shortfall

in rain has affected the cropping pattern, since most of the area as observed has been left as current fallow. The farmers are waiting for the rains to increase the water level in wells and moisture content in the soil. This would help the farmer to sow rabi crop like wheat, barley, mustards etc. A farmer when questioned regarding the use of current fallow in the event of a late rainfall, replied that they will then sow Gojra (mixed crop of wheat and barley) and Bejara (mixed crop of Gram and barley) or gram only.

In these villages there are sufficient number of wells and more than 80% of have Electric lift pumpsets fitted in them. Normally a well is always a joint property since it difficult to finance the digging of a well individually. This system of joint holding is called Sanjari and all the share holders have equal right to use its services. A table showing number of wells in the area is given below:-

Table No. 3

No. of wells	Total cultivable area in acres	Area under irrigation in acres	Average area under each well in acres	No. of well fitted with electric pumpsets
100	1504	836	8.36	88

The percentage of area under irrigation to the total cultivable area is 55.6%. Before the electric lift pumpset were installed, the area was irrigated by surface wells using persian wheel. The villagers observed that the lift pumpsets has helped in reducing the use of animal power and also the man days used in the operation of persian wheel, thus resulting in an increase in the area under cultivation.

Size of Holdings:

The size distribution of land holdings is a pertinent factor in the cropping pattern of a region. The large holdings appreciably influence the economic condition and also the attitude of the farmers. Economically a large holding means a large income even if the return per acre on the average is low. The pressure of population also tends to influence the cropping pattern through the demand for food and similar items. Where the density of population is low, the local demand for food and other commodities will also be low. In such cases unless the area is opened up, the trade with the outside world and convenient means of transport exist, there is likely to be no urge to exploit the land resources fully. This generally results in under distribution of the most scarce resource in the country namely the land. Small holdings are in many ways a burden since ^{they} require more resources for fully cultivating the land. For large holdings the total capital required per farmer for cultivation is much more than on small holdings. Large holdings have their advantages also, if properly used. Apart from giving larger surplus it gives also the farmer room to follow a diversified cropping pattern. The general tendency among farmers is to first meet their own requirements of foodgrains out of their own fields before taking to commercial crops.

The land holding pattern in the area of study is given in the table below:-

Table No. 3

Land holdingsize	Nos.	% of the total cultivable
0 - 2.5 acres	121	37.6
2.5 - 5 acres	107	33.2
5 acres and above	94	29.2

The maximum size of land holding is 12 acres and the minimum size is as small as quarter of an acre. Land holding coupled with soil condition affects the cropping pattern. Almost all the households have some land as gravelly (parrat) which cannot be used for any other purpose except for growing grass during monsoon and otherwise as pasture during rest of the period. The farmers having marginal holding, just grow sufficient to meet their daily necessities of life. There is hardly any surplus with them for sending it to market. The small land holders make surplus and they also grow vegetable subject to availability of sufficient water due to rainfall, with area which otherwise maintain water levels in the wells. The big farmers are producing sufficient surplus for sending to market after meeting their own demands provided the nature does not fail them.

Man power

Manpower is most essential to carry out all operations in the agriculture. The shortage of manpower leads to wastage in the operations on lands. For example if the wheat seeds are just broadcast, which will just give a lesser yield than if sown by the proper method. Again for the same reason the intercultural operation is done by ploughing between the lines for kharif crop instead of removing the weeds by hand, which would give better result. The shortage of manpower is normally felt at the sowing and harvesting operations. Inadequate manpower is no doubt, a limiting factor but not a very serious one. In most agriculturally developed countries shortage of manpower has hastened the mechanisation of farming.

In the area under study, it is found that there is hardly any shortage of manpower. In the marginal holding there is hardly any necessity of engaging any extra manpower, since the family labour is sufficient to carry out all the operations. Mutual exchange of labour during sowing and harvesting is a normal phenomenon in this area. In small and big farm holdings there is

necessity for utilizing the manpower to carry out certain operations like ploughing, sowing, inter-culture, harvesting etc. During these operations, extra manpower is engaged and paid as per the prevalent rate in the area. Since the holdings are quite small there is hardly any mechanisation in these villages. There is only one tractor held by a big farmer. For threshing purpose there are 3-4 threshers which are taken on hire by marginal and small farmers for sifting the grains from the chaff.

Capital

An important factor influencing cropping pattern is the capacity of the farmer to invest money on various inputs, implements etc. Some crops like sugarcane and potato require much larger investments compared to others like gram and jowar. Similarly large holdings normally need large investment and shortage of capital is certainly a limiting factor to their growing of more remunerative crops involving larger investments.

In the area selected for study, no direct estimate of the farmer's capacity to invest on land is available. But on enquiry it is learnt that normally farmers do take loans etc. from the banks^{and} moneylender for the purchase of electric motors pumpsets, bullocks etc. They even take seed on credit from their fellow farmers and return them at the rate of one and a half time of the original quantity.

Draught Animals

In the absence of mechanisation, draught animals also influence the cropping pattern to some extent. If the livestock are of lower standard then their working capacity will also be comparatively poor. In the villages under study the general condition of livestock is satisfactory and every house hold has its own pair of bullocks and plough.

PART-III

Data Analysis:

In a household the entire area is never devoted to sowing and cultivation of annual crops. A part of it may be used for raising crops and part left as current fallow in the form of Green manure. A very small portion of land, is being utilised for orchard purpose. Previously the farmers were not much interested in growing of fruit bearing trees. Now the trend has changed. On enquiry they told that fruit heaving trees like Papaya do not occupy much space and time to grow and have commercial value in the market. Normally the plants of mango, papaya, guava, lemon etc. are planted by the farmers either just near the well or where sufficient water is available for their growth.

No. of Crops

The present cropping pattern followed by the farmers is of double crop. Nearly ninety percent of the cropped area is under double crop and the balance under the single crop. The farmers who are raising single crop were questioned to ascertain the reasons for this. The answer was that either the water is not available or the soil is gravelly.

Mixed Crop:

In the double cropping area, mixed cropping is also done. In the case of rabi crops mustard is also sown along with wheat. The mustard so produced is used for production of mustard oil and the oil cake is given to the animals. The other mixed crops of this season are Gojra (wheat plus barley) and Bejar (Gram plus Barley). During kharif crops, the mixed crop of maize, pulses (Urd, Moong, and Chavlan) and gingelly(til) are grown.

The present cropping pattern is cereal production oriented. Kharif is the main crop of the area and maize is the main product. Maize is the staple food of the locals. It covers as much as 85.65 percent of total cropped area. 19.34 percent of the area is under pulses. Sugarcane covers 0.82 percent of the total cropped area (table-4).

For the purpose of this study, the land holding has been classified into three categories i.e. Marginal (0-2.5 acres), Small (2.5-5 acres) and Big (5 acres and above).
0-4.3 bigahs 4.37-8.75 bigahs 8.75 bigahs and above

Table-5 shows the cropping pattern followed by the various categories of the farmer. It shows that widely grown crops by all farmers are maize during kharif crop and wheat and barely during rabi crop. The gross cropped area devoted to maize is by far the largest. The crops like mustard, til, ambari, rajka, pulses are normally grown in mixed crop for own consumption and not as commercial crops.

The general pattern followed for the kharif and rabi crops are given below:-

Land holding of 5 Bigah						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1977	<u>Kharif</u>	Maize -2 Bigah		<u>Rabi</u>	Wheat -3½ Bigah	
		Sugarcane -½ Bigah			Barley -1 Bigah	
		Vegetable -1 Bigah			Sugarcane -½ Bigah	
		Green				
		Manure -1½ Bigah				
1978	<u>Kharif</u>	Maize -2½ Bigah		<u>Rabi</u>	Wheat -4½ Bigah	
		Sugarcane -½ Bigah			Rajka -½ Bigah	
		Vegetable -1 Bigah				
		Green				
		Manure -1 Bigah				
1979	<u>Kharif</u> (Fodder)	Maize -3½ Bigah		<u>Rabi</u>	Wheat 2 Bigah	
		Rajka -½ Bigah			Barley 1 Bigah	
		Vegetable -½ Bigah			Rajka ½ Bigah	
		Jowar -½ Bigah			Vegetable ½ Bigah	
					Fallow 1 Bigah	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1980	<u>Kharif</u>	Maize	2 Bigah	<u>Rabi</u>	Wheat	3½ Bigah
	(Actual)	Sugarcane	½ Bigah		Barley	1 Bigah
		Vegetable	1 Bigah		Sugarcane	½ Bigah
		Green				
		Manure	1½ Bigah			

The above pattern, clearly shows that in each crop the major portion of the land is used for raising the cereals only. During kharif crop some land is always used for raising green manure crop which increases the vitality of the land.

The present cropping pattern of these villages is by far on foodgrains. As much as (90.6) percent of the gross cropped area is under these crops. Of this again, nearly 60.0 percent is under cereals and remaining 3.39 percent under pulses. Food crops like sugarcane, vegetables etc. which are of a mainly commercial nature, cover only about 19.79 percent of the gross cropped area (table-4).

The foodgrains to some extent are marketed by big and small farmers. In the case of marginal and small farmers, the production is just sufficient to meet their own requirements.

Maize

It is the important crop of the area. It covers 30.61 percent of the total cropped area. After the rabi crops of wheat and barley, the same field are used for this crop. In addition some parrat land is also sown, since it is a monsoon crop. The area covered by marginal, small and big farmers are 85.2, 72.4 and 43.7 respectively of the total cropped area.

Wheat

The next important crop from the view point of area covered is wheat. It is a rabi season crop. The cultivation of wheat is more spread out in the irrigated area. If water availability is not sufficient to irrigate the land then just after

When the first winter rain it is sown in combination of wheat and barley and this combination is called Gojra. It covers 66.04 percent of the total cropped area. The area covered by marginal, small and big farmers is 45.5, 42.0 and 59.2 percent of the gross area.

Barley

It is a rabi season crop. The cultivation of barley covers only 12.8 percent of the total cropped area.

Sugarcane

This is an important kharif commercial crop. It covers 6.32 percent of the gross cropped area.

Inputs use pattern

For raising of any crop, human labour, animal power, fertilizer, seeds etc. are necessary. It is therefore essential to quantify them in terms of cost, so that selling price for the product may be fixed. The purpose of quantification is only to arrive at the cost which has been incurred to grow a crop in an acre.

In the study the factors like cost of human labour, bullocks labour and plough have not been taken into account since it had not been possible to precisely assess and work out these details during the short time available for the study. Other elements such as seed cost, fertilizer and manure costs, irrigation charges have been taken into account for the purpose of study and their impact on the three categories of farmers has been given in table-4. In case of seed, the cost is almost equal for marginal and big farmer and it is quite high for the small farmer. The cost of fertilizer and manure is maximum in the case of marginal farmer and minimum for the small farmer. The cost of irrigation is almost similar for all the three categories.

The data relating to percentage of area under ordinary and high yielding variety seeds to gross cropped area is very interesting. The uses of improved seeds is not equally shared by the three categories of the farmers. In the case of wheat where the marginal and big farmers use only 30 percent and 37.5 percent respectively of his area, the small farmers put 50 percent of gross cropped area under the high yielding variety. In the case of maize the big farmers use 9.8 percent of the cropped area under High Yielding Variety seed and small farmers again show more liking for High Yielding Variety and use nearly fifty percent area for this purpose. In the case of barley only the big farmers put 16.7 percent of area under High Yielding Variety and it is nil in the case of marginal and small farmers (table 4).

Summary and Findings:

a) Cropping Pattern:

The objectives were to find out (i) No. of crops raised (ii) Type of Crops, (iii) Whether mixed cropping is done.

In these villages there are 322 household who hold land. Almost all of them raise two crops in a year barring a very negligible number. The two crops of the area are kharif and rabi. Due to shortage of water the possibility of multiple cropping does not arise. In the kharif crop the maize is the main produce and in the case of rabi it is wheat and barley. The area under maize is 80.60 percent of the total cropped area. This is also due to the fact that maize is the staple food of the area.

During kharif and rabi crop mixed cropping is also done. In case of kharif, along with maize, pulses like, moong and oil seed (til) are also grown. A fibre plant locally called Ambari is also grown alongside the fields. The fibre is used for making rope etc., which is used by the farmers for their own consumption.

In the case of rabi crop, along with wheat, crop of mustard oil for own consumption. In case of shortage of water during rabi, mixed crop of grass and barley (bajra) and wheat and barley (Gojra) are sown after the first winter rain.

The percentage of area under commercial crops like sugarcane, potato is not much. Sugarcane is mainly grown for producing gur for own consumption. If sufficient water is available then some portion of land is also used for growing of vegetables etc. for which ready market is available at Udaipur.

Input Use Pattern

In the input use pattern the objectives are to find out

- a) The type of source of irrigation
- b) the use of human labour
- c) the use of animal labour or the mechanisation
- d) the use of fertilizer
- e) the use of H.Y.V. seed.

The main source of irrigation in the area are surface well with persian wheel, electric lift pump and rains. Almost all the surface wells have been fitted with electric lift pump. This change has brought considerable more area under irrigation and double crop. The villagers are very much alive to new changes and they started using electric lift pumps as early as 1960. During rainy season, maximum area is put under cultivation.

Normally family labour is used for raising the crops. During ploughing, sowing, interculture and harvesting some labour is also engaged. This engagement is normally done in two way i.e. either it is a mutual exchange of labour or on payment of wages. Normal mode of payment is in cash or sometime with one meal also.

The small size of holdings in the area does not permit mechanisation. So the animal power is used for doing all operation right from ploughing to harvesting. Every household have one or two pair of bullock and traditional plough according to the size of holding. In the village there is one tract-or with a big farmer whose holding is about 15 acres. Some farmers are using hired threshers for winnowing of grains.

The use of manure and fertilizer is done by all the farmers. The cow dung manure is used every alternate year. The fertilizer is used with each crop as per the advice of the agriculture extension officer. Farmers feel that the use of fertilizers have helped in the increase of production.

The use of H.Y.V. seed is not equally popular with all the category of farmers. The small farmer with land holding between 2.5 - 5 acres are the major user of H.Y.V. seeds. The villagers still feel that the H.Y.V. produce do not have the taste as per the desi variety.

Conclusion

The important conclusions reached on the basis of the survey of the scheduled villages may be summarised as follows:-

1. Though there is considerable improvement in the irrigation system and thereby production of double crop, still the cropping pattern mainly depends on rains in the area. The rains in the area are not regular.
2. Cultivators are in general widely aware of the importance of fertilizers, seeds and other improved inputs.

Table - 4

Percentage of cropped area to the total cropped area

Percentage of total cropped
Area
(1974-80)

I. Cereals

Maize	80.64
Wheat	61.24
Barley	12.86

II. Pulses

Gram	8.50
Urd, Moong and Chavlan	0.89

III. Sugarcane

6.82

IV. Oilseed

Mustard	2.89
Til	0.25

V. Fiber

Jute and Amheri	0.89
-----------------	------

VI. Vegetables

Potatos....etc.	1.51
-----------------	------

VII. Fodder

Rajka	7.43
-------	------

Table-3

Percentage of area under crop to total (Gross)
Cropped area.

Category of Farmer	Maize	Wheat	Barely	Sugarcane	Rest
Marginal	85.0	65.5	13.8	7.5	6.4
Small	72.0	62.9	11.4	7.0	16.0
Big	63.7	59.3	16.6	6.0	18.7

Table - 6

Average input per acre

(Figures in Rupees)

Category of Farmers	Cost of Seeds	Cost of manure/ fertilizer	Cost of Irrigation
Marginal	71.0	202.0	26.0
Small	103.0	134.0	24.0
Big	75.0	154.0	28.0

Table - 7

Percentage of area under (ordinary and H.Y.V.)
Seeds to the gross cropped area

Category of Farmers	Wheat		Barley		Maize	
	Ordy.	Input	Ordy.	Input	Ordy.	Input
Marginal	70.0	30.0	100.0	-	78.0	22.0
Small	50.0	50.0	100.0	-	51.0	49.0
Big	62.5	37.5	83.3	16.7	90.2	9.8

Table-3

Percentage of area under crop to total (Gross)
Cropped area.

Category of Farmer	Maize	Wheat	Barely	Sugarcane	Rest
Marginal	85.0	65.5	13.8	7.5	6.4
Small	72.0	62.9	11.4	7.0	16.0
Big	63.7	59.3	16.6	6.0	18.7

Table - 4

Average input per acre

(Figures in Rupees)

Category of Farmers	Cost of Seeds	Cost of manure/ fertilizer	Cost of Irrigation
Marginal	71.0	202.0	26.0
Small	103.0	134.0	24.0
Big	75.0	154.0	28.0

Table - 5

Percentage of area under (ordinary and H.Y.V.)
Seeds to the gross cropped area

Category of Farmers	Wheat		Barley		Maize	
	Ordy.	Input	Ordy.	Input	Ordy.	Input
Marginal	70.0	30.0	100.0	-	78.0	22.0
Small	50.0	50.0	100.0	-	51.0	49.0
Big	62.5	37.5	83.3	16.7	90.2	9.8

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

VILLAGE STUDY

Jhanjhari - Karnal District
Haryana

"Cropping and Input Use Pattern"

by
Hans Raj

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
(1980-81)

VILLAGE STUDY

VILLAGE JHANJHARI - DISTRICT KARNAL -
HARYANA

"Cropping and Input Use Pattern"

-Hans Raj (Roll No.612)

1. GENERAL

1.1 The village Jhanjhari, situated at a distance of 8 k.m. from Karnal, Headquarter of the District Karnal, is inhabited on both sides of the G.T. road. Western Jamuna Canal and Karna Lake are at a distance of 1 k.m. from the village. It is a multi-caste village consisting of the various castes such as Brahmins, Khatrias (Businessmen), Rors (the agriculturists), Baniyas (Businessmen), Khatis (Lohars), the Jheewars (water-carriers), the Chamars (the Cobblers), the Balmikis, the Gadariyas (shepherds), and the Dehs (winnow makers). The total population of the village according to 1971 Census was 874, the details of which are, as follows:-

Male	457
Female	417
Total:	<u>874</u>

1.2 Out of 874, the scheduled Caste population was as follows:-

Male	139
Female	139
Total:	<u>378</u>

1.3 The present population according to the fair price shop Ration Cards is 1278. The total number of house-holds is

212. The caste-wise details of the house-holds as per the estimates of the Patwari and Sarpanch of the Village are as under:-

(i) Brahmins	7
(ii) Khattris	4
(iii) Rors	70
(iv) Baniyas	1
(v) Khatris	9
(vi) Jheewar	1
(vii) Chamars	25
(viii) Balmikis	35
(ix) Gadariyas	25
(x) Dehs	35
Total:	<u>212</u>

2. The Village is broadly divided into two compact units, one on the right side of the G.T. Road and the other on the left side of it. The right side unit is the original old village (about 300 years old) and the left side is mainly inhabited by the Dehs and about 50 years old. Some shops and a veterinary hospital are also located there. The village has pucca roads linking it with the G.T. Road. The houses of the people of various castes form separate groups but these groups are adjoining the groups of houses of other castes such as Rors and others.

3. Terrain, Rain-fall and Soil

3.1 The land here is plain and even. The soil is good. It is very fertile. At some places it is sandy. Mostly it is durmit i.e. good productive soil. The rain-fall is 61.2 c.m. per year. The total number of rain days is 32 per year.

4. Climate:

4.1 It is very hot in summer and very cold in winter.

5. Cultivating Caste - Land Owners:

5.1 The Rors are the only cultivating caste in the village. The number of land owners in 1971 was 105. Now it is 119. No

other caste people own land.

6. Area of the Village: It is as follows:-

(i) Village area i.e. Houses, Pucca Roads, Ponds, etc.	154 acres
(ii) Cultivable area	456 acres
(iii) Garden	7 acres
(iv) Pasture land	7 acres
Total:	<u>624 acres</u>

7. Means of Irrigation:

The means of irrigation are the following:-

- (i) Tube-wells
- (ii) Canal

8. Area Under Irrigation:

The whole area of the village is under irrigation. Half of it, is under tube-well irrigation and the half under canal irrigation.

Tube-well irrigated	231 acres
Canal	232 acres

In other words, it is 50% tube-well irrigated and 50% canal irrigated.

9. Crops

9.1 The crops grown in this village are as follows:-

- (i) Food Grains: Wheat, Rice and Maize.
- (ii) Cash Crops: Sugar, cane, cotton, potato, toria (oil seeds)
- (iii) Pulses: Grams, urd.
- (iv) Vegetables: Cauliflower, cabbages, brinjals, onion, raddish, carrot, etc.
- (v) Fodder Crops: Barseem, chari.

10. Rotation of Crops:

The rotation of crops is as follows:-

- (i) First, rice is grown and after the rice crop, wheat is grown.
- (ii) First maize is grown and after the maize crop is over,

potatos are grown and after that wheat is sown.

(iii) In some cases two crops of potatos are grown and then wheat is grown.

(iv) Sugar-cane gives only one crop during the year.

11. Mixing of Crops:

Mixing of the following crops is done:-

- (i) Wheat, grams, toria
- (ii) Maize, urd
- (iii) V getables like raddish and carrot, brinjals and palak, raddish and turnip etc.

12. Seeds:

The seeds used are of High Yielding Variety. The quantity required for sowing as per acre of land is as follows:-

<u>Name of the crop</u>		<u>Quantity required per acre for sowing</u>	<u>Price (approx. per quintal</u>
(i)	Wheat	40 kg	Rs. 280.00 p. q.
(ii)	Rice (Paddy)	12 kg	Rs. 160.00 p. q.
(iii)	Maize	10 kg	Rs. 150.00 p. q.
(iv)	Grams	40 kg. p. a.	Rs. 400.00 p. q.
(v)	Potatos	10 to 12 quintals	Rs. 250.00 p. q.
(vi)	Urd	8 kg p. acre	Rs. 450.00 p. q.
(vii)	Toria (oil seeds)	3 kg. p. acre	Rs. 300.00 p. q.
(viii)	Sugar-cane	16 to 17 qtls. p. a.	Rs. 20.00 p. q.
(ix)	Barseem	5 kg p. a.	Rs. 600.00 p. q.
(x)	Chari	not known	grown very little)
(xi)	Cotton	-do-	

13. Manures:

The modern scientific fertilizers such as Nitrozen, Phosphate etc are being used. The quantity of manures used per acre of land in respect of some of the crops and their price as known through some of the local agriculturists is as follows:-

Sl. No.	Name of the Crop	Name of the Manure used	Quantity used per acre	Price
1	2	3	4	5
(1)	Wheat	(i) n.p.k. 12:32:16	105 kg.	Rs. 137.50 per bag of 70 k.g.
		(ii) Zinc	10 kg.	Rs. 7.50 per kg.
(2)	Rice(Paddy)	(i) n.p.k. 12:32:16	140 kg.	Rs. 137.50 per bag of 70 kg.
		(ii) Zinc	10 kg.	Rs. 7.50 per kg.
(3)	Potatos	Cow-dung	6-7 tons(approx.) per acre-s	Rs. 70.00 per tonne (Approx.)

N.P.K. = Nitrogen, Phosphate, Potassium.

14. The area under some of the crops is as follows:

(a) Food Grains

Sl. No.	Name of the Crop	Total area under the crop in acres(approx.)	Yield per acre(approx.) (Qtls. per acre)	Total Yield (Approx.) (Quintals)
1	2	3	4	5
(1)	Wheat	367	16	5,872.00
(2)	Rice(Paddy)	380	16	6,080.00
(3)	Maize	8	4	32.00

(b) Cash Crops

(1)	Sugar-cane	15	200	3,000.00
(2)	Cotton	3	3	9.00
(3)	Potato	15	48-where wheat is shown after the potato crop.	720.00
			120-where wheat is not sown after the potato crop	1,800.00

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(4)	Toria (oil seeds)	15	4	60.00
<hr/>				
(c) <u>Pulses</u>				
(1)	Grams	10	6	60.00
(2)	Urd	1	3	3.00
<hr/>				
(d) <u>Vegetables:</u>				
(1)	Cauliflower, cabbages Brinjals, onions etc.	6	not known	not known
<hr/>				
(e) <u>Fodder Crops</u>				
(1)	Barseem	30	400 qtls	12,000
(2)	Chari or Jawar	48	not known	not known

15. Size of the Holdings:

(a) The consolidation of holdings has been done. A sample survey of land-owned by 30 agriculturists as mentioned in Annexure 'A' was done and the results are as follows:-

(i)	Land owned upto 2.5 acres	= 8
(ii)	Above 2.5 acres but not more than 5 acres	= 5
(iii)	Above 5 acres but not more than 10 acres	= 14
(iv)	Above 10 acres	= 3
Total:		<u>= 30</u>

(b) Minimum area of field is one acre of land.

(c) On the basis of the above, the 119 land owning farmers will fall in each of the above category as follows:-

	Total number of Farmers in each category	%age
(i) Land owned up to 2.5 acres	32	27
(ii) Above 2.5 acres but no more than 5 acres	20	17
(iii) Above 5 acres but no more than 10 acres	55	46
(iv) Above 10 acres	12	10
Total:	119	100

16. Ploughing:

Ploughing is done by

- (i) Bullocks
- (ii) Tractors.

17. Charges of Ploughing:

It is Rs.25.00 per acre either by bullocks or by tractor.

18. Types of Labour Used:

- (i) Family Labour: All the able-bodied members of the family of small farmers work themselves in the land i.e., ploughing the land, levelling, spreading the seeds, eliminating weeds, cutting the fodder crops etc. This includes both male and female labour.
- (ii) Permanent Labour: Farmers owning more than 5-6 acres of land employ permanent labour also for ploughing, cutting fodder, watering the fields etc. Their number is generally one to two. It is only male labour.
- (iii) Casual Labour: This is seasonal i.e. for cutting crops, also ploughing and watering the fields whenever required. This includes male and female labour both. Female labour is used for eliminating superfluous growth from the crops or on other easy types of jobs.

19. Labour Wages:

- (i) Permanent Labour: It was told by some agriculturists that the prevalent rate is Rs.1800-2000 per year and this is given in advance.
- (ii) Casual Labour: Rs.10.00 per head per day. Food is also given (two meals) in addition. For female labour the rate is Rs.7.00 to Rs.8.00 per head, per day plus food (two meals).

20. Approximate Cost Per Acre of Growing Wheat/Rice:

(i) Ploughing charges	Rs. 250.00
(ii) Seeds	Rs. 70.00
(iii) Manures	Rs. 300.00
(iv) Water-charges	Rs. 100.00
(v) Harvesting etc.	Rs. 225.00
(vi) Labour charges	Rs. 150.00
Total:	<u>Rs. 1095.00</u>

21. Marketing:

21.1 There are two markets where the produce is generally taken for sale i.e.

- (i) Jaraori: It is at a distance of 4 k.m. from the village;
- (ii) Karnal: It is at a distance of 8 k.m. from the village.

21.2 Both of these markets are connected with the village by pucca roads.

21.3 There is not much scope for local village marketing of produce because many people do not purchase at the harvesting season because in general everybody earns sufficient food grains these days.

22. Transportation: The means of transportation available are the following:

- (i) Indigenous: Such as asses, bullock carts
- (ii) Tractor Trolleys
- (iii) Trucks.

There are no difficulties in transportation.

23. Sale Price: (Approximate) The sale price of some of the commodities is as follows:-

<u>Name of the Commodity.</u>	<u>Sale Price per Quintal</u>
(i) wheat	Rs. 117.00
(ii) Rice (Paddy)	Rs. 105.00
(iii) Maize	Rs. 120.00 to 130.00
(iv) Grams	Rs. 400.00
(v) Urd	Rs. 450.00
(vi) Sugar Cane	Rs. 20.00 to 25.00

24. Profit Margin: The profit margin (approx.) in some of the crops is as follows:-

sl. no.	Name of the crop	Cost of production per acre.	Total produce per acre	Sale price per qtl.	Total Sale Price	Profit
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
				Rs	Rs	Rs
1.	Wheat	1095.00	16 qtl.	117.00	1872.00	777.00
2.	Rice	1095.00	16 qtl.	105.00	1680.00	585.00

Thus, the margin of profit per acre of wheat is Rs. 777.00 and in the case of rice, it is Rs. 585.00.

Total profit per year per acre = Rs. 777.00 + Rs. 585.00 = Rs. 1362.00

25. Average Income of a Farmer having holdings up to 2.5 acres or 3-acres.

On the above basis, the approximate yearly income of a farmer in the following categories of land holders would be as follows, presuming that he grows both the crops i.e. wheat and rice:

	<u>Rs. Income</u>
(i) land owned up to 2.00 acres	2724.00 per year
(ii) land owned upto 2.5 acres	3405.00 per year
(iii) land owned up to 3 acres	4086.00 per year

In other words, all those farmers who have land below 3 acre are not able to earn Rs.300.00 p.m. from their land. Assuming their families consist of 5 members each, their per head per month earnings will be less than Rs.60.00. In other words, they will be considered as poor farmers. On this, basis 32 farmers are living below the poverty line.

26. Average Income of an Agriculturist as a Whole:

Agricultural Income:

An attempt has been made to arrive at the approximate per year agricultural income of the agriculturists (land owners) on the whole, on the following basis:-

Name of the crop	Total no. of acreage under cultivation.	Total profit per acre (Rs.)	Total profit (Rs.)
Wheat	367	777.00	2,85,159.00
Rice	380	585.00	2,22,300.00
Total Income:			5,07,459.00

Name of the crop	Total yield (approx. qtl.)	Sale Price (approx.) (per qtl.)	Total Sale Price (Rs.)
Maize	32	130	4,162.00
Grams	60	400	24,000.00
Urd	3	450	1,350.00
Sugar-cane	3,000	22	66,000.00
Toria	.60	300	18,000.00
Income from other crops (approx.)			20,000.00
Total Income			113,512.00

Approximate expen-
diture i.e. $\frac{1}{2}$ of the
money value of
produce

56,756.00

Net Income

56,756.00

Net Income from Garden
Produce

10,000.00

(Approx. same as in the case of
other land)

Total Income during the year
from Land

5,74,215.00

Total Number of agriculturists

119

Taking 5 members as an
average family unit - population of
agriculturists

595 say 600

Agricultural Income per head
per year

$$= \frac{574215}{600} =$$

Rs. 957.00

Monthly Income per head = $\frac{957}{12}$ =

Rs. 80.00 Approx.

Conclusions:

(i) On an average basis the agriculturists are above the
poverty line.

(ii) But taking separately, those who have land below

3 acres are below the poverty line. Their percentage is 17% of the agriculturist population.

27. Income - Agriculturist and Agricultural Labour

Agriculturists

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| (i) Income per head per year | Rs. 957.00 |
| (ii) Income per head per month | Rs. 80.00 (approx.) |

Agricultural Labour Income

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| (i) Income of the head of the family of 5 members (considering the minimum size of the Family) | Rs. 1800/- to 2,000/- per year. |
| (ii) Income of the family of 5 members per month | Rs. 166.66 say Rs. 167 pm |
| (iii) Income per head per month | Rs. 33.33 paise per head |

28. Total Dependence Upon Agriculture:

(1) Total number of Agriculturists population	<u>Members</u>
	600
(2) Total Agricultural Labour in terms of members of families (60 families) (approx.)	300
Total:	<u>900</u>
(3) Total population of the village (approx.)	1278
(4) Percentage of their dependence upon agriculture	$\frac{900}{1278} \times 100 = 70\%$

29. Cropper's Share:

The practice is different in the case of different crops viz.

(1) Wheat: It is 1/20th of the crop harvested in a day. The wheat crop cut in the course of a day is bundled in bales at the end of the day and the cropper can take one bale out of every twenty bales.

(2) Rice: It is 1/10th of the crop cut.

(3) Thrashing of wheat or paddy: 10 kg. per labour, per day.

30. Batai Crops:

In cases, where a land owner gives his land to a farmer for cultivation, the share of the cultivator in the crop produced is 1/4th or 1/5th of the crop produced.

31. Changes in Cropping Pattern during the last ten years.

Ten year ago , generally wheat was produced. Now paddy is also grown because of the availability of tubewell and canal water. Previously only canal water was there which was not sufficient and now tube-wells are also there.

Yield: The yield of wheat per acre was 8 to 9 munds or upto 3½ qtl. approximately. Yield per acre was less because the farmer was not fully aware of the High Yielding varieties of seeds, manures etc. and the tube-well water facility was also not there.

32. Sugar Cane: It is grown in less quantity because the facilities for crushing sugar-cane are not available in the village and taking it to Karnal, the district city, where the sugar mill is situated increases the cost and thus makes it uneconomical.

33. Ploughs and Tr ctors: The following is the number of equipment which the agriculturists have:-

(1) Ploughs driven by Bullocks (Wooden)	52
(2) Ploughs driven by Bullocks(Iron)	30
(3) Total number of Tr-ctors	5
(4) Total number of Harrows	5
(5) Total number of cultivators	2

(6) Total number of thrashers	11
(7) Total number of bullock carts	332
(8) Total number of tractor trolleys	3
(9) Total number of pumping sets(diesel)	16
(10) Total number of electric pumps (Tubewells)	32

34. Agricultural Indebtedness:

Almost every agriculturist has taken loan either on

- (i) Long term basis i.e. for installation of tubewells, purchasing of tractors etc. or
- (ii) Short term basis i.e. for purchasing manures, seeds, pesticides, insecticides etc.

35. The credit facilities are available from all the Banks i.e. State Bank, Punjab National Bank, Agricultural Banks, etc. There is also a Cooperative Society in the village. There were 502 people on the Register of the Cooperative Credit Society which gives credit to the farmers and also to others. The rate of interest of loan for agricultural purposes is 11%. The loan has to be re-paid at the time of harvesting a crop for which the loan has been taken. In the case of defaulters, the rate is increased to 13%. In the case of non-agriculturist loanees, the rate is 21%. The maximum loan given to an individual farmer was Rs.16,000.00.

36. Cattle

The cattle population of the village as per 1977 Census was as follows:-

(i) Bullocks above 3 year old	36
(ii) Cows (milch)	16
(iii) Cows (dry)	25
<u>Calves</u>	
Male (1 to 3 years old)	5
Female (do)	12
<u>Calves</u>	
Male (less than 1 year old)	10
Female (do)	23

Buffalos

He-buffalows	6
She buffalos (milch)	50
She Buffalos (Dry)	30

Calves

He calves (Buffalos)	366
She Calves (do)	33

37. Yield of Milk

Cows - Foreign Breed 15 to 16 litres(per cow) per day(approx.)

Cows - Indigenous 4 to 5 litres per cow per day (approx.)

Buffalos - Approximately 7 to 8 litres per buffalo per day.

38. Care of the Cattle:

(i) There is a veterinary hospital in the village to look after the health of the animals. The arrangements for cross breeding are available.

(ii) For drinking water, only ponds are available. The water in the dry season remains less and becomes muddy and contaminated with various types of germs and is considered injurious to the health of the animals. Some arrangements for providing fresh water to the animals is very necessary as they are a great asset to the farmer and the poor villager.

39. Horticulture: There is none. It is necessary to develop horticulture where people can rest in the evening. This will increase mixing of the people and knowing each other.

40. Poultry: There is no poultry farming being done in the village, but some people are keeping the fowls for their own use or may be selling them at the times of a sheer need. The total number of fowl population in the village according to 1977 Census was as follows:-

(i) Cocks	13
(ii) Hens	52
(iii) Chicken	65

41. Pigs: Some people have pigs also. The total population of the pigs according to 1977 Census was 16 only.

42. Fair Price Shops: There is a fair price shop in the village. There is a cooperative store in the village which provides the people with cheap rationed-rate cloth.

43. Village Market:

There are the following number of shops in the village:-

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| (1) Cobblers' shop | 1 |
| (2) Tailor shop | 1 |
| (3) Cycle Repair shops | 2 |
| (4) Tea shops | 3 |
| (5) Shops of merchandise | 6 |
| (6) Engineering shop | 1 |

44. Cottage Industries

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| (1) <u>Duree-weaving:</u> | It is done by women by almost all the families of the village but it is for their own use. This resource can be developed for marketing also. |
| (2) <u>Winnow-making:</u> | The Deh (Scheduled Caste) community is practising this profession. But, there is no local marketing facility for this commodity. |

Every head of the family, after making about 100 winnows goes out to other far off villages for selling them and suffers loss in his profession. The Government should try to create a market for the sale of this commodity. They should also be provided loan on low interest basis to provide them an incentive to produce more.

Each winnow costs him Rs.2 to Rs.3/- and is sold at the rate of about Rs.4/-. He produces about 200 winnows every month along with the members of his family (about 7 to 8 winnows a day) and his monthly income is about Rs.200 to 250 per head per month.

(3)Dairy Farming: Some people are doing dairy farming on a small scale and sell milk. The rate of milk is understood to be Rs.1.80 to Rs.2.00 per litre.

(4)Engineering Industry: There is a small factory which produces agricultural implements at a small scale such as -

- (1) Ploughs
- (2) Harrows
- (3) Hoes
- (4) Spades etc. etc.

It also repairs tractors.

(5)Fisheries: There are 3 ponds in the village and there is a lot of scope for developing fisheries. It was understood that the contracts on this account were given earlier but had to be discontinued on account of mismanagement. This should again be explored.

(6)Shoe-making Industry: As there are many houses of cobblers. The scope of establishing the shoe-making industry may be worthwhile exploring.

45. Conclusions:

As the pressure on land is increasing, it is high time that the Government should locate some industries in the village especially when it is quite near to the city of Karnal. This will shift the extra pressure on land to industries and will raise the per capita income of the people.

N.B. The Study Report is based on the verbal discussion with the village Sarpanch, some of the agriculturists (Land owners) and the village Patwari.

Sample Survey of Land Owned by
the Agriculturists

Annexure-A.

		<u>Land owned</u>
1.	Jai Singh (Sarpanch)	10 acre
2.	Jai Singh	6 acre
3.	Ram Swaroop	7½ acre
4.	Dabai Singh	10 acre
5.	Amar Singh	9 acre
6.	Makhan Lal	4 acre
7.	Iswar Singh	2 acre
8.	Dal Singh	6 acre
9.	Ram Chander	6 acre
10.	Harkesh	2 acre
11.	Man Singh	1 acre
12.	Sundra	2 acre
13.	Dhani	2 acre
14.	Bhagat Ram	2 acre
15.	Jagan Ram	2 acre
16.	Sewa Singh	2½ acre
17.	Iswar	22 acre
18.	Rajinder	21 acre
19.	Raghubir Singh	10 acre
20.	Benarasi Das	10 acre
21.	Mam Chand	7½ acre
22.	Lijja	5 acre
23.	Bija	3 acre
24.	Rasala	8 acre
25.	Hinda	6 acre
26.	Devi Chand	3 acre
27.	Koora	3 acre
28.	Babu Ram	8 acre
29.	Ram Kumar (Joint Family)	40 acre
30.	Ishar Singh	10 acre.

CONDITION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOR

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

VILLAGE STUDY

Jhanjhari - Karnal District
Haryana.

"Condition of Agricultural Labour"

by

A.K.P. UTHY

CONDITION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURS

I. Introduction:

1.1 As a part of the village study programme, a group of eight participants from the Sixth APPPA course, conducted a study of a village in Haryana, with special reference to the social and economic aspects of the life of the villagers. The village selected for the purpose is called Jhanjhari, a multi-caste one, situated about 9 kms. from Karnal a district town of Haryana, towards Ambala on the G.T. Road (renamed as Shershah Suri Marg) about a kilometre from the Haryana Tourism Development Corporation's Tourist Oasis Complex (Karna Lake). Jhanjhari has now developed into a revenue village. There are several similar villages around and all these villages retain contacts with Jhanjhari through common services in nodal villages and social intercourse including marriages. The G.T. Road passes through the village giving it great accessibility. The nearest railway station is Bhaini Khurd, 3 kms. away from the village.

1.2 The total area of the village is 324 acres. The average rainfall is 61 cms. per year. Of the total area, about 45 acres are under cultivation. The lands are irrigated, through canal water and supplemented almost 50% by supplies from tube-wells.

1.3 The population of the village as per the 1971 census was 874, 451 males and 417 females. It is estimated to be 1278 as on date (as per the ration card register), comprising of 212 households. While the Deh community lives on the western side of the G.T. Road, the other population is inhabiting the eastern side of the G.T. Road, occupying an area of about 10 acres.

1.4 The group made frequent visits to the village and familiarised themselves with the village environments. In fact, they were able to talk freely to many villagers. They contacted a cross-section of the villagers including the Sarpanch, a few members of the Panchayat including those representing the Harijan communities, the only lady panchayat member, the village school teachers (including a lady teacher), the khatri school-keeper, many women from the harijan communities, the only cobbler in the village, the only bonded labour and so on. The group felt that the villagers were free and able to communicate with the members of the group without reservations.

1.5 There are 119 households who own the land in the village. The holdings range from one acre to as much as 70 acres. The rest are landless, except for the plots on which they have their dwellings.

1.6 The village population is Hindu, there being no Sikhs or Muslims. It is a multi-caste village, the dominant caste, in view of their number and affluence being the Rors. The distribution of the households caste-wise is as under:

Ror	..	70
Brahmin	..	7
Lohar	..	9
Gadariya	..	25
Baiki	..	35
Chamar	..	25
Deh	..	35
Khatri	..	5
Jhevar	..	1
-----		Total : 212.

2. Condition of the agricultural labour:

2.1 The main occupation of the village is agriculture. Most of the families, except for the Dehs, have some member or the other doing agricultural labour. Even the Dehs depend on the agriculturists for selling their winnows, the mainstay of the Dehs' livelihood. They made reed-winnows and sell them to the farmers, far and near.

2.2 The agricultural labour can be sub-divided into two divisions:

2.2.1 the landowning group

2.2.2 the landless group.

2.3 The land-owning group:

Most of the marginal farmers do their own work. They are incapable of employing any extra hands for their work. In fact, some of them even go and work in other's fields, when free. The farmers with larger holdings employ agricultural labour, depending upon their needs. Except for the affluent farmers, all others employ labour on seasonal basis on daily wages. They employ hands for periods upto 200 days in a year, at the most. The affluent farmers employ labour on contractual basis, renewing the contracts year after year.

2.4 The landless group:

The landless labour work in the farms of the landowning farmers, either on daily wages basis for seasons or on contracts. Some of them do try to get land for cultivation on Saajhedari (partnership) basis, but with limited means at their disposal, they find it difficult to pursue the objective and they fall back for assistance from the other farmers.

3. Wage rates and compensation:

3.1 The average wage earnings per male member is Rs.7 to Rs.8 per-day and for female Rs.5 to Rs.6 a day. This was corroborated by many of the landless labour. But the employers were of the view that they pay Rs.10 and Rs.8 per day for male and female labour respectively. Both the parties are aware of the minimum wage regulations. In fact, the land owning employers added that they even give lunch to the labour. It was, however, not possible to reconcile the difference in these versions because of the social conditions of the labour in the village.

3.2 The contract rate is Rs.1800 per annum per head. The amount is not paid in lump-sum, but adjusted against the advances taken by the labour in cash or in kind. It almost becomes a vicious circle and though they cannot be deemed as bonded labour, they continue to do contractual labour year after year. Theoretically, the labour need not renew the contract after its expiry, but practically they may not be able to do so. However, there was also one case of a bonded labour. (This will be discussed in a separate paper).

4. Unemployment or under-employment:

4.1 The landowners claim that there is no unemployment or underemployment in the village. They maintain that they do not get adequate number of hands when needed. But the landless labour feel that there is widespread unemployment and under-employment. In support of this, they say that a number of them have been compelled to seek employment outside the village, in jobs in the canal department or in the electricity department. A study however indicated that there were no able-bodied persons unemployed as such in the village.

5. Mechanisation and its after effects:

5.1 As has been the trend elsewhere, mechanisation has taken place in the village. There are 5 tractors, 8 threshers and 32 tubewells and pumps. While the landowners have gained on this account, the landless labour have lost employment opportunities to some extent. But some of them have switched over to work as mechanics, fitters, drivers of tractors, etc. thereby clearing more wages than the traditional agricultural labour.

6. Housing and infrastructural facilities:

6.1 All the land-owning Rors have pucca houses. The lot of the landless is almost the same, cutting across caste barriers. Only such of those families as have members having employment in government departments or otherwise have pucca houses, irrespective of any caste distinction. This minority also owns milch cattle. Otherwise, all other landless labour have kutcha mud-dwellings. Except for the dwellings on the western side, where the least affluent and the lowest in the caste hierarchy, the Dehs, live, all other areas in the village are electrified. As a rule, all the village houses are built on free-hold land.

6.2 There is a co-operative credit society, which gives assistance mainly to the agriculturists in the form of loans and fertilisers. The other landless also can take advantage of the facilities, but on terms which are entirely different. (For details, please refer to the separate paper on the subject).

6.3 There is a Balwadi and a primary school in the village. There is no distinction between the children of the land-owning and landless population of the village in so far as the educational facilities are concerned. What was found was that in the primary school, the percentage of children belonging to the landless (rijans) was more than the more affluent families of Rors. It was found that the teachers of the school did canvass to get more children admitted to the school (possibly to justify their own posts!). In the primary stages, the drop out percentage was negligible, but beyond the primary school stage, only a very few children went outside the village to pursue education. The village has only 3 or 4 graduates, 10 or 12 matriculates; even here the largest number came from the most affluent of the families, that belonging to a Minister of the Maryana Government from this village.

7. General impression:

7.1 The impression one gained was that there was no starvation as such in the village. But almost 50% of the population was below the poverty line, those belonging to the landless section or those who were only marginal farmers and below.

7.2 This trend has resulted in some perceptible changes in the village. There is a keenness at least in so far as the landless are concerned, to pursue education and to get some employment outside. The reservation rules do provide them an incentive. While the Harijans deplored that in spite of the reservation rules, their lot has not improved, the non-Harijans were feeling bitter about the 'privileges' given to the former. The landless amongst the non-Harijans feel the pinch more. They have neither the advantage of the reservation nor the benefit of land. Perceptibly, they were having more problems.

7.3 The larger framers are trying to consolidate their holdings; though they are aware of the ceiling limits, they hold the land in the names of family members, but cultivate them together. With the marginal farmers finding it difficult to make both ends meet, the condition of the agricultural labour is only bound to deteriorate further; necessarily, they are compelled to search for pastures new. This trend will further aggravate with more mechanisation likely to take place.

7.4 The government can step in to help the lot of the agricultural labour. The surplus labour force available can be conveniently shifted to other profitable professions. There is scope for developing fisheries(ponds are available), durrty weaving(already this is done for internal consumption), poultry farming, dairy farming(with the NDRI in the close proximity, there should be no problem),etc. so that the net income of the village can go up and the labour drain to the neighbouring villages/towns can be stopped.

A study of the condition of Agricultural Labour in Arlamallige -
a village in Bangalore District of Karnataka. -

(M.S. THANVI)

Even after thirty three years of independence the condition of agricultural labour in our country is pathetic and all the efforts by the Government in this direction have not met with desired success. Agriculture is an unorganised sector in the country with the result that the agricultural labour unlike the industrial labour does not have much bargaining power. Poverty and destitution compel them to accept whatever wage rates are offered to them. Minimum wages fixed by the Government are seldom paid to them and even with the statutory minimum wages, it will be difficult for these labourers to make both ends meet. Agriculture itself is by and large dependent on the vagaries of monsoon and floods and drought directly affect the fate of agricultural labour. Again, the job is mostly of seasonal nature and during off season it is impossible for these labourers to keep the wolf off their doors. The object of this study was to have an insight into the economic and social conditions of the agricultural labour in this village of Karnataka. Information was collected about the wage rates, pattern of expenditure and income, assets held by them, literacy, caste composition and the size of agricultural labour in the village economy. Information was also gathered about the various development programmes initiated by the Government and their impact on the condition of agricultural labour, their perception of Government efforts, awakening among these persons of need for family planning and self dependence. All these aspects will be discussed in detail on the basis of information gathered from a sample of 30 household selected at random.

Selection of the Village

We were to study the condition of agricultural labour in one of the villages in Karnataka. We selected Arlamallige -- a village in Doddaballapur Taluk of Bangalore District. The main reason for the selection of this village was that basic data about various aspects of the village were available as a result of a village survey conducted by the Census of India in 1961. It was a better proposition to conduct a study now and compare the result with 1961 to arrive at changes which have taken place over a period of twenty years. Again, this village is located in the vicinity of a silk weaving centre. It could afford an opportunity to study how the development of that place affected the village life. Moreover, this is a medium sized village and is typical of Indian village where the main occupation of the inhabitants is agriculture and ancilliary occupations. In view of these considerations, Arlamallige was selected for studying the condition of agricultural labour. Various other aspects were studied by other members of the team.

Methodology

The methodology of the survey was to make a study of 30 households selected at random. It was ensured that the sample so selected should contain agricultural labour from all communities of the village. Number of units of the sample from each community was to the extent possible proportionate to the total population of agricultural labour in that community. Within the community the households were selected at random. A pre-devised questionnaire was canvassed to all the thirty households mainly through the head or a working member of the household and utmost care was exercised to elicit precise information. Wherever some inconsistency was noticed in two replies efforts were made to probe deeper to arrive at the truth. By and large the villagers were very cooperative and gave straight answers to the

Informally, the views of teachers, land-owners, government officials were also broadly obtained to verify whether the answers given by the interviewees showed a correct trend. However, the information supplied by the agricultural labour was taken at face value and the questionnaires were edited only to the extent, apparent inconsistencies were noted. The information so collected has been tabulated under various heads and will be discussed hereinafter.

A brief description of the village.

Arlamallige is a medium sized village in Doddaballapur Taluk of Bangalore District. It is roughly five kilometres from Doddaballapur and therefore the geographical details of Doddaballapur case be adopted for this village also. It is situated at 13°18' North Latitude and 77°26' East Longitude to the North-west of Bangalore City. The village is well connected by buses with the Taluk Headquarters Doddaballapur which in turn is connected with Bangalore City by rail and road. It is about 3000' above sea level. It is situated in a region which is open and undulating covered with scrub jungle. It lies within the basin of river Arkavathi. The famous hill resort Nandi Hill is not very far from this place. The climate of the region is very salubrious. It is not very much different from Bangalore City. The North-East monsoon contributes to the rainfall. There is a big village tank at the entrance of the village from Doddaballapur side. When the tank is full, it provides irrigation to a vast tract of village land which is used for raising sugarcane, paddy, etc. The cultivated crops are sugarcane, paddy, ragi, jowar, millets etc. Casurina trees are also planted as there is a great demand for fuel which fetches a lucrative price.

Arlamallige being only 5 kilometres from Doddaballapur, the history of the village is closely related to the history of the town nearby. This town was an important place of trade in the

twelfth Century under the Hoysala Kings. In 1761 Doddaballpur was captured by Hyder Ali and was under the rulers of Mysore till it became a part of the New Mysore State, now Karnataka.

There is a legend attached to the name of the village. It is stated that a devotee offered a garland of jasmine buds made of silver to the image of Lord Channakesava in the temple in fulfilment of a vow. On the day following the offering, it was observed that the buds had blossomed into flowers. The village, therefore, came to be called 'Aralamallige' which means 'Jasmine blossomed'.

There is a stone inscription in old Kannada in the temple of Channakesava. The inscription bears the date of 1367 A.D. and refers to the regime of Vir-Bukkanna-Vadeyar. It is clear from this inscription that the village was in existence even 600 years ago. Beyond this, there is no other record to show as to when the village came into existence. People of almost all the castes are ancient settlers.

Size, number of Households, Residential Pattern

According to the official information available, the area of the revenue village is 1863 acres. The village has a hamlet Kanehoshalli which is about 2 K.M. from the main settlement. 17 Adikarnataka families reside in this hamlet. According to the official records updated in 1980, there are 318 households. There are 305 dwelling houses, 13 dwelling-cum-shops, 12 shops, 2 to workshops. According to 1971 Census the village had a population of 1436 of which 764 were male and 672 females. The present population is roughly estimated at 1600. The number of households in 1971 was 273. The houses in the village are uniformly distributed on either side of a number of streets and lanes. Most of the houses in the village are old constructions. Some rich land-lords have recently built new houses with fairly modern look. The residential

pattern is generally caste based.

persons from different castes live together. The Adi-Karnataka and Adidravidas - the scheduled castes - are living in separate localities.

The village is covered by a group Panchayat. There are six villages in the group - Aralamallige, Eaksipura, S.M.Gollahalli, Alahalli, Kuntanahalli and Jakkasandra. There are 15 members in the Panchayat of which 8 are from Vokkaliga caste, 3 from Kuruba, 2 from Adi-Karnataka, 1 from Banajiga and one from Beda. The Chairman of the Panchayat is a Vokkaliga who owns land. The Panchayat has a building of its own. Metalling of internal roads and construction of drains was done by the Panchayat.

The village has a Service Cooperative Society with a membership of 390. There is also a Milk Society with a membership of 327. The average sale of milk through this coeity is 45 litres per day @ Rs 2/- per litre.

There is one branch post office, one ^{school} / upto seventh standard. Adult literacy classes are also held in the village. 30 women are reported to be attending these classes. There is one youth club also. However, it appears that youth from the upper caste only go there.

Type of Houses

Total Houses - 318

Mallige House - 201

R.C.C. - 12

Tiles - 51

Sheets - 6

Grass - 33

In the Hamlet

Tiles 10

Grass 5

318

According to 1971 census, the population of the village is 1436 of which 764 are male and 672 are females. The number of households in 1980 is 318. The estimated population is roughly 1600. The main castes of the village are Vokkaliga, Banajiga, Kurba, Bhajantri, Vadda, Beda, Agasa, Uppara, Brahmin, Lingayat, Kammara, Bestha, Marathi, Adi-Karnataka, Adi-dravida, Adi-Karnataka, Adi-dravida and Vadda are scheduled castes.

The Vokkaligas are land-owners and are cultivators by occupation. They speak Telugu. The Banajigas claim to be the descendants of Balram. Originally they were a trading class. In this village most of the Banajigas are agriculturists. Like Vokkaligas, they are also an upper caste. The Kurbas were originally a caste of shepherds, their traditional occupation being tending sheep. In this village some of them tend sheep while others are agricultural labourers. Bedas also known as Nayakas are originally hunters. In this village they are all either cultivators or agricultural labourers. They are backward economically as well as socially. Adi-Karnataka and Adi-dravida occupy the lowest position in the caste hierarchy. Adikarnataka and Adidravida each consider that it is superior to the other. Though untouchability is legally abolished, these communities still suffer from some discriminatory treatment in the village life. Most of them are agricultural labourers and occasionally some of them supplement their income by beating drums, doing leather work etc. Bhajantri are barber by occupation. Agasa are traditionally washerman. They also bear Pashals during marriages and supply washed clothes on these occasions. Kammaras are blacksmiths or goldsmiths.

It was observed that though the rigours of caste system have certainly loosened, economically the socially lower caste people are still weak. Some of the so-called higher caste people also do the occupation of agricultural labour. However, most of them were in agriculture. Brahmin families are very few. Either they are retired

An analysis of the condition of Agricultural Labour in Aralmallige.

For the purposes of this study those persons whose main source of livelihood is wages from agricultural labour in others farms have been treated as agricultural labour. Some of them own small land and do cultivate it but the income from cultivation on their own land is marginal and the major part of their income comes from labour. All those persons have been grouped as agricultural labourers. Table 1 gives the number of household dependent on Agricultural labour.

TABLE 1

<u>Caste</u>	<u>No. of Household</u>	<u>Household interviewed</u>	<u>Population of Households interviewed.</u>		
			<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Vokkaligas	3	3	6	6	12
Banajigas	4	3	5	3	8
Kurbas	21	5	9	6	15
Bhajantri	-	-	-	-	-
Vadda	5	-	-	-	-
Beda	26	7	16	14	30
Agasa	-	-	-	-	-
Uppara	9	2	3	5	8
Brahmin	-	-	-	-	-
Kammara	5	1	5	1	6
Adi Karnataka	48	9	16	17	33
Adi dravida	3	-	-	-	-
Bastha	-	-	-	-	-
Marathi	1	-	-	-	-
Christian	-	-	-	-	-
Total	125	30	60	52	112

Total number of households in the village is 318 out of which 125 households are dependent on agricultural labour. Their

percentage works out to 39%. One household has on an average 4 members. On this basis, total number of persons dependent on this occupation works out to $(125 \times 4) 500$. Total population at present is estimated at 1600. Percentage of population dependent on agricultural labour is thus 30%. According to 1961 census 58 households having 280 persons were engaged in agricultural labour. The total population in 1961 was 1282. Thus in 1961 22% of the entire population was dependent on this occupation. In 1971, the number of household dependent on agricultural labour rose from 58 to 71. Data about the number of persons in those households could not be gathered.

Thus, it will be observed that over a period of twenty years the population has gone up from 1282 to 1600, i.e. roughly 25%. The percentage of those dependent on agricultural labour has gone up from 280 to 500 which works out to roughly 80%. The corresponding increase from 1951 to 1961 was more than 200%. It will be observed from the above figures that the rate of increase in agricultural labourers is more than the rate of increase in population. This implies that more people have switched over to this occupation. The reason for the switch over may be lack of adequate rainfall for the last 4 to 5 years. This has forced the small and marginal farmers to take to agricultural labour as their own crop had failed. They seemed to have worked on the farms of those having irrigated land. Further, with the expansion of ^{irrigated} land because of more wells (46 in number) the sugarcane cultivation has increased and this provides good wages and more days of work. About 250 man days are required for raising 1 acre of sugarcane and also preparing jaggery from the cane produced. The wages for sugarcane crushing are more as compared to other agricultural activities.

Wage rates and income

It was revealed by the survey of the sample household that the wage rate for male agricultural labourers was Rs 5/- without

meal and Rs 4/- with meal. The wage rate for female workers was Rs 3/-
out
with meal and Rs 2.50 with meal. The children were not working as
agricultural labourers but looked after the cattle etc. The wage rate
for sugarcane crushing are higher. It is done on contract basis. A
group of five labourers undertake to prepare one bag of jaggery for
which they are paid Rs 50/- which works out per head Rs 10/-. The
number of hours of work is more than the usual. The usual hours of
work for the labourers at field are 9 to 6 with one hour for lunch
and rest.

Most of the labourers are not aware of Minimum Wages Act
but they are more in demand and therefore are able to get reasonable
wages. As a matter of fact the landlords try to keep them under
obligation by advancing them small loans in times of need so that
during the season they will come and work at their fields. A part of
the wages is adjusted towards the loan. For these loans the land-
lords do not charge any interest. Almost all questioned about the
behaviour of the landlords, replied that it was good. There is no
difference in the wage rate in the off or peak season. The labourers
are able to get work for 5 to 6 days in a week for 6 to 8 months.
During the period when they are not able to get work, they collect
fuel and cow dung and sell the same. They also borrow from the land-
lords as stated earlier and make both ends meet. They do not have
any other source of income as they do not know any handicraft. Very
few of them have cattle to supplement their income.

Table 2 gives the income distribution of the households

interviewed -

Costs	No. of house- holds.	Upto 100	100-150	150-200	200-250	250-300	300-350
Vokkaliga	3	1	-	-	2	-	-
Banajiga	3	1	-	1	-	1	-
Kurba	5	-	4	1	-	-	-
Eeda	7	1	3	-	-	1	2
Uppara	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
Kammara	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Adi-Kar- nataka	9	1	3	4	-	1	-
Total	30	5	11	7	2	3	2

It will be observed that more than 50% fall in the income bracket of Rs 100 to 200/-. Average monthly income of the household works out to Rs 160/- This average was a little over Rs 50/- in 1961. Thus, it will be observed that the income has trebled during the last twenty years but the real income has reduced as the prices have gone up by more than three times with 1961 base. The value of rupee is less than 30 paise with 1961 as base.

Pattern of Expenditure

Table 3 gives the analysis of family budget.

Table 3

<u>Items</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Food	120	70%
Clothing	18	10%
Beverages	13	8%
Smoking	8	5%
Others	16	7%
Total	175	100

It will be observed that average monthly income of the household works out to Rs 160/- while the average monthly expenditure is of the

order of Rs 175/- per month. This accounts for prevalence of indebtedness for consumption purposes. This will be explained in the next table. A lion's share of income is spent on food alone as is the case with persons living below subsistence level. Expenditure on tea, coffee and smoking is quite high. 7% of the family budget goes on other miscellaneous items of which liquor is a prominent part. Most of these labourers drink. Many stated that they drink after days' hard work, while others stated that they would like to drink if they can afford. Even those who denied having this habit were actually smelling of alcohol at the time of interview. There are two liquor shops in the village. One of country liquor which caters to the needs of poor people and does roaring business and the other of wine to meet the requirements of the well-to-do. It was given to understand that some of the women worker also drink, eat tobacco and pan regularly.

Most of them purchase their ration from the society and other food articles are purchased daily from other shops. The staple diet is ragi and some supplement it with rice also. Very little of ground nut oil is used for cooking. Expenditure on vegetables etc. is marginal. Undernutrition and malnutrition is common as is apparent from the calories they eat. They mainly depend on ragi balls and some sort of curry which provides energy but vitamins and other nutrients are almost absent in their menu.

Indebtedness

Out of 30 households interviewed, 15 were having debts ranging from Rs 170 to Rs 2000. The particulars of debts are as

under - No.

Rs 170	1	
Rs 200	3	
Rs 300	4	
Rs 400	1	
Rs 500	2	
Rs 800	1	
Rs 1000	1	
Rs 1300	1	
Rs 2000	1	Total 15

<u>Purpose of debts</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
3 for Agricultural purposes	2800	33%
2 for illness	670/-	7.5%
4 for consumption	3100/-	36%
1 for cattle	1300/-	15%
Total	8470	

It will be observed that the debts are mainly for un-productive purposes. As discussed earlier, their expenditure is more than their income - (Average income per month Rs 160/- and average monthly expenditure Rs 175/-), they have to incur small debts for day to day wants. The debts are mainly taken from the landlords who willingly oblige them so that they will be under obligation to work on their field in repayment of debts. Part of the wages is adjusted toward debts. For such debts no interest is charged. However, for bigger loans interest ranging from 18% to 24% is charged. Almost 50% of the households are under debts.

Though there is a service cooperative society in the village, no loans have been advanced to agricultural labourers. Perhaps the rules require some security which these labourer do not have to offer.

Particulars of Assets held

Out of 30 households interviewed, 15 of them owned small tract of land. About 5 of them were allotted land by the government under the scheme of allotment of land to landless people. Some have ancestral land. The land is mostly dry and if monsoon is good they are able to cultivate some ragi or rice for their own consumption. 18 of them owned houses - 13 had pucca tiled houses while 5 had huts. 6 households had cattle while 1 had a radio and two of them had sewing machines. One sewing machine was purchased on subsidy by a goldsmith family which was rendered jobless after gold control order. The lady of the houses now train other women and also does tailoring work. Other machine was purchased by a Vokkaliga who intends migrating to Doddaballapur to do some business. He has already sold his house in the village and with the sale proceeds purchased a house at Doddaballapur and also a sewing machine. His wife does tailoring for others. This was the only case of an ambitious agricultural labourer. All the rest of them seem to be resigned to fate and do not seem to be ambitious at all. They think they are happy in their way and always look forward to the government for something. There is no inclination whatsoever to be self-dependent. Their income hardly permits them to invest in durables.

Literacy

Table 4 gives the statistics of literacy in the sample of households chosen for study. The village has a school upto VII standard and a night school.

Table 4 - Literacy

<u>Caste</u>	<u>Literate</u>	<u>Illiterate</u>	<u>Having children of school going age</u>	<u>Sending children to school.</u>
Vokkaligas	2	1	1	1
Banajiga	2	1	1	-
Kurba	2	3	2	2
Uppara	1	1	1	-
Kammara	1	-	1	1
Beda	1	6	4	2
Adi Karnat- ka	1	8	4	1
	<u>10</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>7</u>

It will be observed that illiteracy is more in the lower castes. Out of 8 households of Adi-Karnataka only one is literate. Out of four households having children of school going age in this community only one household is sending the children to school. It was observed that the amoment a child is about 12 to 15 years of age, he or she is put on the job of Agricultural labour. Thus, there must be drop outs even among those who go to school in the beginning. Of the families having school going children but not sending them to school, more of such children are girls. This shows a sort of discriminatory treatment to girls.

Awareness of need of Family Planning

22 persons out of 30 interviewed were aware of the need for having small family. Most of them said they would like to have small families as they could not afford large family. Generally, they got themselves vasectomised after two or three children. Only one person had a negative attitude towards family planning. According

to him children are god's gifts and he will not like to prevent their birth . A remarkable awareness and positive attitude towards family planning is perhaps responsible for a virtual stagnant population of the village. The rate of increase in the population is very low in this village.

Awareness of Government efforts

13 persons were aware of Government efforts to ameliorate their lot. Some of them got agricultural land allotted to them. Some got house site allotted under the Janata Housing Scheme. Only three persons were aware of Minimum Wages Act.

Impact of Developmental efforts by the Government.

The Government has taken various steps to ameliorate the lot of the landless agricultural labour in this village. Land was allotted to landless labourers. Some of these persons are cultivating the land so allotted to them. Since it is dry land and the monsoon has failed during the last 3 to 4 years, the land could not be put to much use. The village is covered by a service cooperative society. The benefits of this society have not flowed to landless labourers as the loans are advanced against security and these persons have no security to offer. Some of the landless labourers own milching cattle and are member of the Milk Society of the village. 9 small farmers, 5 marginal farmers and 15 landless labourers are members of this society. About 45 litres of milk is sold per day to this society @ Rs 2/- per litre. If more loans could be advanced to these persons for the purchase of milching cattle, they can augment their income by sale of milk to the society.

Government has also started Janata Housing Scheme assisted by HUDCO. 20 house sites have been sanctioned . under this scheme

to the villagers here. For being eligible under this scheme, the person should be landless or houseless and his annual income from all sources should not exceed Rs 2500/-. 20 houses are under construction. According to the rules, Rs 500/- has to be contributed by the allottee in cash or kind. Rs 1500/- are given by the government as subsidy and the balance of Rs 1000/- is treated as government loan which is recoverable in 20 annual instalments free of interest. This will benefit those having no roof over their head.

The government has also started Employment Affirmation Scheme under which construction work will be undertaken by the government in off-season to provide employment to workers who are not able to get agricultural job in the off-season. This should help providing gainful employment to agricultural labour.

For drinking water, a bore-well has been constructed for this village near Adi-Karnataka Colony. Thus, on the whole government has been alive to the needs of the poorer sections of the village community. During the course of interview, people appreciated government efforts in this direction. Yet the general tendency was to look up to the government for everything. Initiative to become self dependent was conspicuous by its absence.

Conclusion

Concluding, it can be said that the condition of agricultural labour in this village is better than most of other Indian villages. They are more in demand and therefore the possibility of their exploitation by the land-owners is very remote. As a matter of fact, the land-owners try to keep them in good humour by advancing interest-free loan etc. so that in the season they will

be available for work. Doddaballapur, the town nearest near the village and is a silk weaving centre and provides employment opportunities but the labourers of this village seem to prefer agricultural labour and not many go for work in the town. This shows that they are able to get work in the village itself. During off-season they have some difficulty. Here the government can do something by training these persons in some handicrafts etc. so that in the lean season or during drought it can be really handy. Further, loans can be provided for purchase of milching cattle. In that case the benefits of milk cooperative society can be availed of more and more by the landless labourers.

- END -

Condition of Agricultural Labour

- L.R. Julka

PART - II.

Introduction

The phenomenon of rural unemployment started during the eighteenth century under the British rule and swelled under the impact of new land tenures, monetisation of transactions and decline of villages artisans, impairing the balance and inter-dependence among the different strata in the rural society, weakening the traditional viability of rural economy. The growth in the number of agricultural labourers in this context was a product of process of disintegration and immiserisation and not of developmental process bringing in its train occupation diversification. Agricultural labour in this setting was not an occupation, a mode of livelihood willingly chosen by the earners in that occupation; it was one of the forms assumed by destitution which overtook the erstwhile cultivators and artisans who had been deprived of their traditional occupations.

Planned development in the most recent decades has not succeeded in halting this process. All the available indicators leave little doubt about the continuing growth in the number of agricultural labourers. Recent estimates of the proportion of population below the poverty line (48.13%) indicate that the level of living of the bulk of agricultural labourers has undergone little improvement. Structural measures to realign the production relations within agriculture in favour of agricultural labourers and the legislative support to wages in agriculture have little to show by way of concrete results. Thus neither the general economic development nor agricultural development and not even the reform measures through the instrumentality of State in India seem capable of reaching far enough to purvey hope and viability to the class of people

who bore the major burden of the immiserising economic transition under alien rule; while aliens had at last the alibi of being aliens, independent India has none in extenuation of her record after three decades of planning.

It is in this context that the aggravating problems of agricultural labourers need to be assessed. The so called green-revolution and indiscriminate technological changes have increased the disparity in rural society. One of the intricate problems facing Indian economy today is not so much the capacity of agricultural sector to provide increased production as its capacity to do this without throwing out surplus labour.

Objective of Study:

In this sombre perspective the objective of study is to bring focus on the present wage and employment conditions of agriculture labour, impact of various government schemes and measures in providing direct employment to increasing labour force or benefit them by diversification of rural economy and future trends as discernable by making selective study of labour in agricultural employment in the aforementioned two villages of Rajasthan.

Geographical Backdrop:

Rajasthan is an irregular rhombus with east-west and north-south line as diagonals and lies in the North-West part of the Indian Union between North latitude $23^{\circ}.3'$ and $30^{\circ}.12'$ and East Longitudes $69^{\circ}.3'$ and $78^{\circ}.17'$. It has an area of 34.12 million hectares and is the third largest State in the country. The State now occupies 10.4% of the total territory of the Indian Union. Its border stretches to over 5920Kms. It is inhabited by 25.77 million people according to 1971 census and has an average density of 75 persons per square kilometer. It is bound on the west and north-west by

Pakistan and on the north and north-east by Punjab/Haryana. Its eastern frontier marches first with Uttar Pradesh and then with Madhya Pradesh. Gujarat State forms its boundary on the South West.

It is a tropical region consisting mostly of dry, sandy desert but to some extent of fertile plains and equally fertile plateaus as well as forest-clad hills, rising as high as 4000 feet from the sea level. Rajasthan is however perilously dependent on the caprices of the fickle monsoon. It is an agricultural region, made unique by long isolation but showing great variation from one locale to another, between one group and another.

In the hilly tracts of the South and South Eastern region the soils vary in their character from sandy loam to clayey loam. In certain parts of the region they are mixed with stones.

70% of the total population in Rajasthan is dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. Rural population is 81.5% and percentage of agricultural population to rural population is 82.1%.

The total area of district Udaipur is 1.91 million hectares (5.6% of the state area). Total cultivable area is 4,91,420 hectares and net area sown in 1976-77 was 3,33,600 hectares. Area sown more than once was 1,57,820 hectares. The district is facing drought conditions for the past four years.

Girwa Tehsil in which Villages Eklingpura and Kaladwas fall covers 1686 square kilometres of area, having population of 3,11,841 with density of population of 185 persons per kilometre.

Average rainfall in Girwa Tehsil during the last 10 years was 635 mm. Total rainfall between June-September 1980 was 538 mm. In this Tehsil 179 villages out of the total of 229 villages reported 60% loss of crop and have been declared as famine-affected areas. Eklingpura and Kaladwas villages under study however do not fall in this category.

Conceptual Frame

First all India Agriculture Labour enquiry was conducted by the Ministry of Labour in 1950-51 and the second enquiry was made in 1956-57 to have comparative picture of the conditions of agriculture labour between 1950-51 to 1956-57. In the first enquiry the concept of agriculture labourer was used for one who was employed for wages in the process of crop production. An agricultural labour family was defined as one in which either the head of family or 50% or more of the earners reported agriculture labour as their main occupation. The main occupation of a person in turn was identified with the one in which he was engaged for 50% or more of the days worked by him during the previous year. In the second enquiry an agriculture labourer had been defined to include labourer not only employed in crop production but also employed in other agricultural occupations like dairy farming, horticulture, raising of live-stock, bee-keeping or poultry-farming etc. An agricultural labour family was defined as one which derived a major portion of its income from agricultural wage. Thus the criteria adopted for demarcation of agricultural labour - families was income in the second enquiry as against employment in the first enquiry. Pricing of kind-wages was done at whole sale prices. For the purpose of present study the concepts used by the second enquiry were adopted.

Methodology

The selection of these two villages for the purpose of our study was made on the basis of accessibility, exposure of various development programmes and proximity with block and

district headquarters. These villages are also representative villages of the district with regard to rainfall, proportion of irrigated land and tribal population. Both small and medium sized villages, having necessary infrastructure of rural society, were given equal weightage at the time of selection of villages.

The team visited these two villages for more than a week, spending considerable time in acquainting itself with the area and the people and collected necessary data from different sources. For conducting this study, the methods of survey-research were adopted. The main tools of research were interviews, observation and discussions, apart from study of documents and official records. For interview purposes, a sample schedule or guide was prepared well in advance, and necessary informations was collected from the respondents, officials and non-officials. The interviews were held in different locations, houses, fields, workspots and village Chowpal and temples, at different periods of time. Small group discussions in general and exchange of information in particular among the members of the team proved to be very useful in the final analysis of data and report writing.

For illustration purpose a large number of photographs were taken by the research team. Since all the members are proficient in Hindi, no language difficulty was experienced and a good deal of rapport was established with respondents. A final round of discussions was also held with the officials and non-officials. In addition, some voluntary organizations, involved in the village development work, were also contacted. Records available at the Udaipur University and the School of Social work were also scanned. The research team participated in a seminar on 'Rural Development' organised by Seva Mandir, Udaipur on December 6, 1980.

Eklingpura, Kaladwas and Manwa Khera have a Common Gram-Panchayat. The office of the Gram-Panchayat is located in Village Kaladwas.

Limitations of Sampling

Preliminary discussions were held with the Block development officer of this area and his Agriculture Extension Officer. Data of agriculture labour of these two villages was collected from his records. The Panchayat and revenue records of the Village Patwaris however disclosed that in both the villages of Eklingpura and Kaladwas there were no agricultural labourers who earned 50% or more of their household wage income from agriculture or who tilled land on share-cropping basis. The Sarpanch of the village also testified to this effect. As there was no Village Level Worker (his post is lying vacant for the past few months) the Group Sachiv was contacted to confirm the position. Field enquiries made proved that agricultural labourers were not working in either of these villages. Most of the fields were self-cultivated. Their size being small land offered little scope for employment of outside labour on regular basis.

Nearly 80% of the total holdings in both the villages are less than 5 acres. The village land stretches from the foothills of Hoda range. Less than 1/3rd of the land has been brought under cultivation and about 50% of the cultivated land has the benefit of irrigation wholly or partially.

To select representative population for study efforts were made to identify marginal farmers whose condition would be identical to agricultural labourers and who in addition to cultivating their own lands tilled the lands of other farmers on share-cropping basis. Efforts were also made to locate such families whose lands had been acquired by Government for meeting the needs of industrial expansion of Udaipur without allotting them alternate lands.

Revenue records of the Patwaris did not contain details of such cultivators/landless people. Normal practice in these villages is to exchange labour during harvesting operations and tenancy farming is totally absent. After intensive investigations it became possible to locate fifteen such marginal farmers and three families whose lands had been acquired by Government for public purpose.

A questionnaire (Appendix A) had been prepared to collect information about the status of worker, his family members, details of his operational land holdings, subsidiary occupation, income, expenditure, indebtedness, educational level, skill, assets, assistance from Government agencies etc. On the basis of this questionnaire detailed information was collected from the heads of households by interviewing these persons intensively in the villages and at their fields/work places.

Note: Household for the purpose of this enquiry consists of head of the family and all other members dependent or otherwise, who live under the same roof and share food.

PART- III

Conditions of Agriculture Labour:

Data collected on the basis of answers to the questionnaire, interview of the village residents, discussions held with various officers of Panchayat, Block Development and Small Farmer Development Agencies, District Officers, Social organizations etc. was analysed and the following results emerged:-

(i) Family Composition

An analysis of the dependents and earning members shows that a large number of families had more than 5 dependents.

Families having less than 2 dependents	..	3
Families having 3 dependents	..	4
Families having 4 dependents	..	2
Families having 5 dependents	..	2
Families having more than 5 dependents	..	8

Out of eight families having more than 5 dependents, four belonged to the Scheduled Tribes and four belonged to communities other than the Scheduled Caste. The size of families of the Scheduled-caste households was relatively small and all the three Scheduled Caste families covered had 2,3 and 4 dependents respectively. Five households had more than one earning member out of which two households belonging to the Scheduled Tribes had two additional earning members each.

(ii) Literacy:

Only 5 heads of the household had attended school and three had studied beyond primary level. The other two studied upto second class only. The remaining heads had no formal education and only two out of them had rudimentary knowledge of Hindi.

(iii) Land Holding Pattern and Possessions:

Out of the 16 households, operational holdings of 2 families exceeded 5 Bighas (1.75 Bighas = 1 acre). Operational holdings of remaining families (excluding land given under Antyodaya which is unfit for cultivation) was as under:-

	<u>Land Holding in Bighas</u>				
	1	2	3	4	5
Number of House holds.....	2	2	3	6	1

11 Households had their own pair of bullocks to cultivate land. Number of milch cattle (excluding goats and calves) were 1 each with 3 households, 2 each with two households, 3 each with 4 households and 4 with one and 5 with another household. 14 households possessed cycle. Some of the households, especially of tribals rear goats also.

(iv) Income and Expenditure

Income-wise distribution of households was as follows:-

<u>Per capita Income per Annum</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Between Rs.100-200	2
Between Rs.200-300	3
Between Rs.300-400	3
Between Rs.400-500	2
Between Rs.500-600	3
Between Rs.600-660	-
Between Rs.660 and above	5

Average per capita income worked out to Rs.473.90 or say Rs.474/- per annum (or Rs.1.30 per capita per day). Income per household was Rs.2896/- Agriculture contributed 36% of the total income and non-agricultural sources contributed 64% of the household income, (for details please see Statement No.1).

Families having per capita consumption level of Rs.55/- per month or below have been defined as poor families in Rajasthan under the Antyodaya programme. Consumption of only five households could be considered above this level. Other families were below the poverty level of consumption.

Impact of Government Schemes

(i) Small Farmers Development Agency: Planned effort through the Five Five-Year Plans has achieved a modest rate of growth in the per capita income. Macro picture reveals that the number of unemployed has not shown any downward trend and more than 48% of the population still lives below the poverty line. Our field studies revealed that fruits of development have been mostly availed of by the better-off members of the rural society. Sectoral or programme approach has not really made any impact on the rural poor. The investigations made lead us to the conclusion that unless a direct attack on poverty is launched by identification of the members of the 'target group' and assistance provided to them in terms of credit, input, subsidy and facilities for marketing etc. the development efforts are likely to bye-pass the poor.

Government has initiated the Small Farmers Development Agency Programme for the benefit of small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, share croppers etc. A cultivator with a land holding of 5 acres or below is considered a small farmer. A person with a land holding of 2.5 acres or below is a marginal farmer. A person without any land but having a homestead and deriving more than 50% of his income from agricultural wages is considered an agricultural labourer.

Details of the beneficiaries under this scheme in both the villages are given in Statement 2. Out of the total number of 32 beneficiaries under this scheme, 12 utilized loans to purchase buffaloes/cows, 9 purchased bullocks/bullock cart and two bought herd of goats. 9 beneficiaries installed electricity

diesel pumps on their wells. The scheme permits 50% of the amount of loan as assistance to small and marginal farmers belonging to the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe and 33% and 25% respectively for other marginal farmers and small farmers respectively.

(ii) Antyodaya: The Antyodaya programme was launched by the Government of Rajasthan on 2nd October, 1977 for the upliftment of the "poorest of the poor" families in the State. The aim was to provide them in each village with the means of livelihood by giving them employment or old-age pension.

The first phase of Antyodaya started in there two villages in 1977-78. In the absence of detailed instructions about the procedure to be adopted for selection of the poorest families in those villages, revenue patwaris were called upon to prepare a tentative list of the deserving families. The State Government prescribed the following criteria for identification of Antyodaya families:-

- (i) Families under severe destitution having no economic assets and no members in the age group of 15-59 years capable of economic activity;
- (ii) Families having no economic assets but having one or more persons capable of economic activity where annual family earnings do not exceed Rs.1200/-;
- (iii) Families with some assets where annual income is below Rs.1800/- per annum;
- (iv) Remaining families housing some land and assets but are below the poverty line i.e. below per capita consumption level of Rs.55/- per month.

List prepared by Patwaris were submitted to the Tehsildar who forwarded the same to the Block Development Officer for arranging meeting of the Gram Sabha. The Gram Sabha of Eklingpura and

Kaladwas intimated all the resident families in these villages through the village chowkidar to send one representative from their family on the day of the meeting. The Gram Sabha in the presence of these representatives selected six families of village Eklingpura and five families of villages Kaladwas. Joint enquiries were made by the Tehsildar and the Block Development Officer to finalize the list. The Agriculture Extension Officer and the Village Level Worker met these families to ascertain their needs. Each family was allotted 5 Bighas of land and in addition loans of Rs.2500/- and Rs.3200/- were granted to two families for purchase of goats and bullock-cart respectively. (Statement No.3).

In the second phase which started in the subsequent year the State Government issued further instructions for selection of poorest families. It was felt that the criteria of selecting five families from each village, irrespective of the size of population had resulted in disproportionate representation in the smaller villages, putting the larger size villages to disadvantages. The Rajasthan Government issued orders in October 1978 to select 3,5,7 and 10 families from the smaller, medium, large and very large villages having population upto 500, 501 to 1000, 1001 to 2000 and above 2000 respectively.

By virtue of their population, five families were to be selected in Eklingpura and seven in village Kaladwas. Revenue Patwaries, Village Level Worker, Teachers and Gram Sabha Panchs were asked to prepare lists of deserving families independently. These lists were submitted to the Gram Panchayat which considered the names included in these lists in the presence of representatives of residents who had been invited to the meeting. The Gram Sabha recommended the names of 10 families of village Kaladwas and 4 families of Eklingpura to the Panchayat Samiti. A Committee consisting of the sub-Divisional Officer, Block Development Officer and the Tehsildar

made enquiries and finally selected seven families of village Kaladwas and two of Eklingpura. Excepting one family which was granted a loan of Rs.1000/- for leather work, the remaining families were granted old-age pension of Rs.40/- per month.

Families receiving loans under Antyodaya scheme are entitled to subsidy under the normal rules and concessional rate of interest of 4% is charged from them. Out of the four beneficiaries who got loans, two were interviewed to find out improvement in their income. Only one who had purchased the bullock-cart stated that he was able to supplement his income by Rs.100/- per month by transporting stone and other material in his cart. He had since refunded 50% of the amount payable by him.

General Conditions:

Increasing burden of population on agricultural land has reduced holdings to uneconomic size, making cultivation a high cost and uneconomic business. Further pressure on land will lead to more fragmentation of holdings. There is little scope for bringing more area under cultivation. The terrain is rocky, uneven and strewn with pebbles. Developing land is an expensive laborious and time-consuming process. Stones have to be dug out, pebbles cleared and high walls raised all along the boundary to allow soil to form and to prevent erosion. Small size of holdings and their economic viability precludes the possibility of raising finance for land development from financial institutions which demand sound guarantee to secure loans.

This area does not have adequate rainfall. Rainfall during this year was not only inadequate but it was unusual with the result that moisture in soil has been reduced and water table has gone down. Uneven formation of land does not permit efficient water management in this area. Wells which are the

only source of irrigation in these two villages have inadequate water. These wells even otherwise are not a dependable and regular source of irrigation. There are 35 wells in Eklingpura and 51 in Kaladwas. Despite this the irrigated area does not exceed 50% of the cultivable land. During drought or when rains fail and water is needed most, the wells dry up. This precludes the possibility of raising multiple crops or cultivating vegetables for which there is ready market in the town. Farmers are prevented from raising the productivity of their lands by using high yielding variety seeds, fertilizers, intensive cultivation and multiple cropping. In spite of the loans given under the SFDA scheme and a number of wells having been energised, the area under irrigation has not increased. This explains partly the reason for low income from agriculture which hits the small farmers and marginal farmers the most because of high cost of cultivation of uneconomic holdings. This also rules out the possibility of increasing employment potential for agricultural labour due to stagnation of agriculture in these villages.

High investment and less yield from land has prevented the farmers from bringing fallow lands under cultivation. Lands allotted to Antyodaya families are lying undeveloped. It has not been possible to arrange loans as banks are not prepared to advance money for the development of these lands without adequate security which is beyond the means of these poor and resourceless families to provide. Allotment of lands has not helped these families in any way who needed immediately tangible help. This explains the reason why two antyodayaya families in Eklingpura did not accept the offer of land and in the second phase pension had to be given to most of the families to attract them under this Scheme.

Uneconomic size of holdings and marginal nature of land have resulted in farmers cultivating these land for raising food-grains i.e. maize and wheat for personal consumption. Very

little area is spared for cultivation of fodder which has restricted the possibility of dairy farming for which again there is ready market in the town for milk and dairy products. Inadequate irrigation has also stood in the way of growing fruit trees or practising horticulture on commercial scale. There is only one farmer in both the villages who has ventured to grow fruits on commercial scale. This is also serving cumulatively as a drag on employment market.

The above constraints have limited the capacity of farmers to avail of the benefits under SFDA schemes and slowed down the rate of development of agriculture and allied activities in these villages. Our impression is that SFDA is less likely to help the small and marginal farmers in this area for whose benefit this scheme is primarily intended.

Due to absence of employment potential in these villages there is large scale migration of labour force. It is estimated that daily 30 unskilled labourers from village Eklingpura and 150 from village Kaladwas go to the Town in search of work in industrial sector. With the stoppage of food for work programme from September 1980, number of job seekers going to the Town has increased. The works under FFW were previously giving employment to 40 to 60 unskilled labourers daily. It is hoped that with the execution of drinking water supply scheme in Eklingpura which is being undertaken by the Public Health Department at the cost of 7.5 lacs, employment will be provided to 40 labourers for about 6 months. The Food For Work Projects have been specially popular with the scheduled tribe workers who live in isolated Bastis at Parka Khet away from the main residential areas of the villages and find it difficult to get work on agricultural farms even when there is shortage of labour as villagers find it inconvenient to contact the tribals in their far away time.

Indebtedness:

Because of low incomes and a large number of marginal farmers living below poverty line, incidence of indebtedness is fairly high amongst them. From statement 4 it will be observed that as many as 13 out of 18 families have incurred debts. 10 families raised loans from private sources by mortgaging their lands or on payment of high rates of interest ranging from 1.5% to 2% per mensem. This, by no means, is a correct depiction of indebtedness. Most of the persons interviewed were shy of admitting that they had raised loans. They hesitatingly disclosed after gruelling questions, that they were raising loans to meet social and personal needs. Some of them made vague statements that they were occasionally borrowing money from relatives and friends and returned it without interest. They declined to give further detail.

Low income, poverty, indebtedness, under-employment or unemployment provide fertile ground for exploitation of labour.

This exploitation can take subtle forms of providing free site to labourers for building cottages and thus tying him down to accept employment at lower wages. This type of exploitation was however not noticed in these villages. Most of the residents in the villages possess their own land and houses. The Panchyat also allotted 44 house-sites in village Eklingpura and 82 housesites in Kaladwas, each site measuring 45 x 30. So far 26 houses had been constructed in village Kaladwas. 30 applications for grant of house-building loans had been sent through the Gram Sabha to HUDCO for sanctioning loans.

The enforcement of Minimum Wages Act left much to be desired. The Block Development Officer or his staff was not aware of the minimum rate of wages fixed for agricultural labour for his area. He informed that enforcement of minimum wages had been entrusted

to the Department of Labour. The Sarpanch of Gram Sabha stated that no complaint had been made to him about the payment of lower wages. The village labour was not aware whether minimum rates of wages were prescribed by the Government. No publicity had been given to these rates in the village where despite shortage of labour, for occasional employment offered on fields or for doing odd jobs the prevalent wages are Rs.6/- for male and Rs.5/- for female against the minimum rate of Rs.7/-. The labour inspector has not visited these areas to watch the enforcement of the provisions of minimum wages Act. The labour is unorganized and they normally prefer to work in the town where wages are higher and conditions of work are also better and less exploitive.

C o n c l u s i o n

Average daily per capita income of marginal farmer-cum labourer of Rs.1.30 in these villages is abysmally low especially when looked in the context of high prices. It is much lower than the average daily earning of small cultivating and non-cultivating rural labourers in Rajasthan computed during the 25th round of National sample survey in July 1970 - June 1971 which was Rs.2.66 per day for small male cultivating worker and Rs.2.97 for non-cultivating male agricultural labourer, Rs.1.88 for non-cultivating female agricultural labourer and Rs.2.59 for non-cultivating all agricultural labour. Lower income may be partly due to the drought conditions prevailing in this District and partly due to the absence of whole time gainful work for the force engaged in agriculture. This is leading to diversion of labour from agriculture sector to industrial sector in urban area.

There is however immense potential for development in

these villages. Their proximity to the town is of considerable advantage. Town plan has already covered the entire village of Eklingpura and half of Kaladwas. In the nearby area industrial estate has come up. A number of chemical industries and crushers have been established with considerable employment potential. With the completion of Dewas Scheme water is likely to be brought to these villages which will help in breaking the present stagnation and help in bringing larger area under cultivation apart from increasing the land use and its productivity. Pioneering activities have already started and some of the enterprising farmers have tapped the water sources in the bed of Ayad Canal by organizing jointly a lift-irrigation scheme over a distance of one kilometre. Other farmers have also taken cue from it and another group has similarly installed a lift irrigation system. This augurs wells for the joint effort and self-help. Loans are advanced for this purpose by SFDA. It is a step forward in cooperative venture. Next advancement should be in pooling farming equipment and animal power for optimum utilization to reduce cost of production. Joint schemes being more viable are also likely to attract finances easily on better terms. Horticulture and Dairy farming also need similar pioneering efforts.

There is need to extend the master craft scheme to these villages to diversify their economy. There is considerable potential for small-scale and cottage industries. People's prejudice against poultry farming which Dangi community in this area considers to be unclean also needs to be overcome. It will add to the income of farmers without substantial investment. Finally the crying need of this area is water.

Agricultural Labour in Village Eklingpura

Lift-water Scheme in Village Kaladwas

Agricultural Labour Working in the Field in
Village Kaladwas

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI

Sixth Advanced Professional Programme in Public Administration

VILLAGE STUDY

As a part of the above programme, a team of seven members, with Dr. P.M. Varma of the IIPA as Supervisor, conducted a socio-economic study of two villages - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - in the Girwa Block of Udaipur District in Rajasthan for two weeks from December 1, 1980. The members of the team and the subjects of their study are given below:-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Subjects</u>
1. Shri P.K. Bagchi	Pattern of indebtedness and bondage.
2. Shri P.U.C. Chowdary	Inter-Caste relations.
3. Shri L.R. Julka	Condition of agricultural labour.
4. Shri D.O. Mishra	Perception of development & change.
5. Shri V.K. Seth	Consumption Pattern.
6. Shri M.P. Vasudeva	Cropping and input use pattern.
7. Miss R. Vijayalakshmi	Status of women.

The broad framework of the report is as under:-

- Part-I. Carries a brief description of Udaipur District, the Girwa Block and the two villages of Eklingpura and Kaladwas. It also explains the reasons for selection of these two villages for the above study. This portion has been prepared jointly by the study team from the information collected, as well as that supplied by the District Administration.
- Part-II Gives a general introduction of the specific subject of study, the objectives and the methodology followed.
- Part-III Presents an analysis of the data collected and the conclusions of the member concerned.
- Part-IV Contains supporting annexures.

The members of the study team are grateful to the officials of the District Administration of Udaipur, who extended the necessary assistance and co-operation in all possible manner to enable the team to conduct a meaningful study. The members also place on record their deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Varma, who, besides being a source of inspiration, rendered valuable guidance all through.

New Delhi
December 20, 1980.

Signature.

C O N T E N T S

PART - I	Profile of the District, Block and the Villages.
PART- II	Introduction Objective of Study Geographical Backdrop Conceptual Frame Methodology Limitation of Sampling
PART-III	Conditions of Agricultural Labour (i) Family Composition (ii) Literacy (iii) Land Holding Pattern and Possessions (iv) Income and Expenditure Impact of Government Schemes (i) Small Farmers Development Agency (ii) Antyodyaya General Conditions Indebtedness Conclusion
PART-IV	Appendix A - Questionnaire Statement No.1-Per Capital Income of Marginal cultivators. Statement No.2-Beneficiaries Under the Small Farmers Development Agency's Loan Scheme Statement No.3-Beneficiaries under Antyodyaya Scheme. Statement No.4-Indebtedness of Small Cultivating Households.

PART I

PROFILE OF THE DISTRICT, FLOCK AND THE VILLAGES

Hallowed by the heroic battles fought by Maharana Pratap against Akbar's mighty Mughal forces, Mewar, the Kingdom of Sisodia Rajputs, occupies a unique place in the Indian History. Udaipur, founded in the year 1557 by Maharana Uday Singh, was the last of the capitals of the State of Mewar.

Thoughts of the desert seem a mirage in the serene coolness of the lake-borne city of Udaipur. Cupped with soft-green hills, the opiate beauty of this city is like a joyous miracle in the dusty, wind-blown heat of Rajasthan. Still evoking the rich sensibilities of a royal lineage, long gone by, the dreamy city of Udaipur is unique in its elusive, feminine quality amongst the masculine citadels of Rajasthan. Shimmering and twinkling, the lakes of Pichola, Fateh Sagar, Swaroop Sagar and Uday Sagar give the city its haunting beauty.

Historically famous and culturally rich, the present district of Udaipur abounds with a number of interesting places. Haldighati, where a valiant battle was fought by Rana Pratap, riding his gallant horse, Chetak, is in this district. Nathdwara, where the great temple of Srinathji enshrines a unique monolithic black-stone image of Sri Krishna, is only forty-eight kilometres north of Udaipur. The Eklingji temple, on the shores of a lake, houses the presiding deity of the Ranas of Mewar.

Situated around 75° longitude and 24° latitude, in the South-western part of Rajasthan, Udaipur district is dotted with green, lofty and minerally rich Aravalli ranges. Endowed with a temperate and healthy climate, the district has seventeen tehsils, divided into eighteen blocks.

The district is predominantly rural, with 3,116 villages and 92 per cent of the population living in villages. The ancient tribe of Bhils, also known as Gamethis, whose close association with the Ranas of Mewar was symbolised in the emblem of that State, constitute a sizable one-third of the population of the district. Latest estimates put the total population of the district at 2.4 million.

Agriculture forms the backbone of the district with two-thirds of the population making a living out of it. Due to the hilly terrain, the area is rocky and uneven, with very low water table. The rainfall is also scanty, averaging around 630 mms. The rural economy, which has to sustain itself through agriculture, is adversely affected by the vagaries of nature. The rainfall is often quite untimely and erratic. The district is also drought-prone and has been famine-stricken for the last four years continuously, causing damage to the economic equilibrium.

The farmers in the district have to put forth more than average efforts to eke out a living. Man-made distortions and fragmentation of land have also contributed to the situation. The district, with predominantly small land holdings, has a total area of two million hectares of which only 18 per cent is cultivated. The area under more than one crop constitutes only 43 per cent of the cultivated area. Nearly three-fourths of the holdings are under three hectares, while holdings below one hectare account for half of the cultivated area.

The principal crop is maize, which is evident from the famous slogan in the area - "Gehoon Chodna Makki Khana, Mewar Chodkar Kahin na Jana". Other important crops are wheat, barley, gram and pulses. Foodgrains account for 85 per cent and Oil-seeds for 8 per cent of the total area under cultivation.

The district has been declared by the Government as an industrially-backward area. However, a few large and medium scale industries have sprung up in and around Udaipur city. These include the Hindustan Zinc Limited, J&K Tyres Ltd., Pesticides India Ltd., Udaipur Cotton Mills, etc. While there are 731 units in the small-scale sector, cottage and household industries number about 11,500. The employment potential of these industrial units works out to a meagre 6 per cent of the total work force available in the district.

The Block:

The Girwa Panchayat Samiti is contiguous to Udaipur City. The

Samiti consists of 161 villages and 35 Gram Panchayats. The population of the Samiti is 2.34 lakhs out of which 56,000 belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Out of a total area of 1.31 lakh hectares, only 0.25 lakh hectares are cultivable. The land holdings are also small with 85 per cent of the total holdings being under three hectares.

The Samiti is thus fairly representative of the district with regard to the occupational patterns, area under cultivation, land holdings, distribution of population, etc.

The Villages under Focus:

Two adjacent villages, Eklingpura and Kaladwas, along with a third village Manwakhera, form part of the Gram Panchayat of Kaladwas. The two villages selected for study - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - are about a kilometre apart from each other and lie on the Udaipur-Jhamar Kotra Road and are about seven and ten kilometres respectively from the district headquarters of Udaipur.

Both these villages were established around 1450 AD. The Bhils, who were natives of the area, were displaced by the Dangis, the farmers' community. Originally known as Rohiad Pura, the village Eklingpura obtained its name during the reign of Maharaja Bhupal Singh of Mewar State. Eklingji, as already mentioned, is the presiding deity of the State of Mewar. There is an old Shiva temple in the village, in a cave, which is the oldest structure in the area. 'Poornima Mela', a village fair, is held on every full-moon day.

These villages had the distinction of having received a foreign dignitary, when Mr. Malcolm Fraser, the Australian Prime Minister, visited them in January 1979. This historic visit has been commemorated by naming the road leading to Eklingpura as 'Fraser Lane'. Para

Parakakhet is a hamlet of Kaladwas, wherein live the Scheduled Tribe, the Bhils or Gamethis. It is two-and-a-half kilometres from the main village.

WHY THESE TWO VILLAGES WERE SELECTED FOR STUDY ?

The selection of these two villages for the purpose of this study was made on the basis of accessibility, exposure to various development programmes and proximity with block and district headquarters. These villages are also representative villages of the district with regard to rainfall, proportion of irrigated land and tribal population.

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE VILLAGES

The following are the salient features of the villages under study:

<u>Population:</u>	<u>Kaladwas</u>	<u>Eklinsapura</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male	719	416	1135
Female	669	357	1026
Total:	1388	773	2161
Scheduled Castes	116	43	159
Scheduled Tribes	433	112	545
<u>Households:</u>			
a) Kaccha	300	105	405
b) Pakka	45	54	99
Total:	345	159	504
<u>Literacy:</u>			
Number of literates	351	271	622
Number of illiterates	1037	502	1539
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Occupations:</u>			
Number of workers	416	259	675
Number of non-workers.	972	514	1486
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Workers:</u>			
Cultivation	261	177	438
Household industries	10	4	14
Manufacturing	40	9	49
Construction	25	11	36
Agricultural Labourers	9	10	19
Trade & Commerce	7	4	11
Mining	11	5	16
Others	53	39	92
Total:	416	259	675
<u>Area: (in acres)</u>			
a) Geographical Area	2090	1823	3913
b) Area under cultivation	780	724	1504
i) Area irrigated	477	359	836
ii) Area unirrigated	303	365	668
Total:	780	724	1504
No. of wells with electric pump-sets	51	35	86
No. of tractors in the village	-	1	1

* According to 1971 Census.

-:: 5 ::-

<u>Crops: (in acres)</u>	<u>Kaladwas</u>	<u>Eklingspura</u>	<u>Total</u>
a) <u>Kharif</u>			
Maize	359	309	668
Sugarcane	38	23	61
Vegetables	13	18	31
Other Crops	59	25	84
Total:	469	375	844
b) <u>Rabi</u>			
Wheat	164	201	365
Barley	86	80	166
Gram	30	39	69
Vegetables	4	8	12
Fodder	27	21	48
Total:	311	349	660

Land-holdings:

Less than 2.5 acres	231	72	303
2.5 to 5 acres	57	50	107
5.1 to 7.5 acres	30	16	46
7.6 to 10.0 acres	10	10	20
Above 10 acres	17	11	28
Total:	345	159	504

Other Details:

Schools:

No. of primary schools	1	1	2
No. of middle schools	1	-	1

Students:

No. of boys	208	75	283
No. of girls	20	21	41
Total:	228	96	324

Post Office	1	-	1
Sub-centre of Health	1	-	1

Distance from District Headquarters	10 Km	7 Km	
Distance from Block Headquarters	10 Km	5 Km	
Distance from Railway Station	5 Km	6 Km	

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REPORT ON VILLAGE STUDY

CONDITION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

IN

VILLAGE NEMOM

DISTRICT TRIVANDRUM, KERALA STATE

J.K. VARSHNEYA

ROLL NO. 631

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, NEW DELHI.

REPORT ON VILLAGE STUDY
CONDITION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR
IN NEMOM VILLAGE
DISTRICT TRIVANDRUM, KERALA STATE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The village for our study was selected in consultation with the State Revenue authorities. The village is about 8 km south of Trivandrum city (See Drawing No.1). According to 1971 Census it had a population of 48196. The projected population in 1981 will be 57105. From North Indian standards it cannot be called a village, but the settlement pattern in Kerala is very different from the rest of the country. In fact the whole Kerala State is a big village. According to 1971 Census the classification of villages according to population in Kerala was as follows:

<u>POPULATION</u>	<u>NO. of VILLAGES</u>
Less than 200	2
200-499	2
500-999	2
1000-1999	16
2000-4999	112
5000-9999	316
10000 and above	818

TOTAL: 1268

From the above it will be seen that majority of the villages in Kerala have a population of more than 10,000.

2. THE NEMOM VILLAGE

2.1 Historical background. This village was originally formed at the time of preparation of settlement records in 1904 in the then Travancore State. At the time of formation this village was a part of Neyyattinkara Taluk. At the time of reorganization of the States in 1956 this village has been included in Trivandrum Taluk, which is one of the 4 Taluks of Trivandrum District.

2.2 Physical feature. Nemom Village consisting of Nemom and Kalliyoor Panchayats situated in the south of Trivandrum city Corporation comes under Nemom Block, Trivandrum Taluk and Trivandrum District. The village is having a total geographical area of 28.9 sq.km (Nemom panchayat with an area of 12.2 sq.km and Kalliyoor panchayat with 16.7 sq.km). Majority of the village comes under low land region, less than 8 metres from the main sea level. Karamana River flows through the north western boundary of this village. Vellayani lake with a total area of 1250 acres comes under this village.

The National Highway 47 passes through this village. A number of village roads link the interior parts of the village with the national Highway. Trivandrum-Kanyakumari Railway line is also passing through this village. (See drawing Nos. 2 and 3).

The soil of the area can be broadly classified into sandy loams, sandy clay and laterite. The climate is tropical humid with an oppressive summer. The summer season from March to May is followed by the south west Monsoon from June to September. October and November months may be termed as North-East Monsoon season and December to February the post North-East Monsoon. During the cold months of December, January and February the temperature is about 21° C. The atmosphere is highly humid throughout the year. The relative humidity varies from 60% to 90%. The average rain fall is about 2000 m.m. On an average there are about 100 rainy days in a year. Part of the village is irrigated by Neyar Dam distributory.

2.3 Demographic features: According to 1971 census the total population of the village is 48196, out of which 5792 Nos. belong to scheduled caste and 148 Nos. belong to scheduled Tribe community. The female population

is higher than that of male population (Females 24128 and male 22978). There are 1006 females for 1000 males. The density of population is 1306 per sq.km. which is higher than the District average (1003/sq.km) and State average (549/sq.km). The growth of population is roughly estimated as 12% per decade.

The village community system is not prevalent in this village like other part of Kerala. Here the settlement is scattered through out the village. There are 8804 households occupying 7772 houses. The average number of persons residing in one house is roughly estimated as 6.

According to 1971 census, the percentage of literacy in this village is 65.4. Out of the total population of 48196 numbers 17054 males and 14434 females are literate. The percentage of literacy in the village is slightly above the District literacy percentage (62.54%) and State literacy percentage of 60.42%.

Working population and occupational pattern of this village as per 1971 census are as follows:

	<u>Nemom Panchayat</u>		<u>Kalliyoor Paychayat</u>	
	M	F	M	F
Total workers	5567	998	5045	928
Cultivators	316	14	647	18
Agricultural labourers	1907	311	2007	421
Livestock fishing and allied activities	77	3	114	-
Household industry	160	27	195	75
Other than Household industry	726	127	493	111
Construction	140	15	100	-
Trade and Commerce	697	115	359	45
Other services	1149	325	049	234
Mining or quarrying	11	0	8	8
Transport storage and communication	474	51	173	16
Non-workers	7236	11955	6040	10427

The cultivators and the agricultural labourers together form roughly 45% of the total workers.

2.4 Land Relations: The Kerala Land Reforms Act 1963 confers full ownership on tenants in respect of the land in their possession and bring them into direct relationship with the State by abolition of all intermediary rights. Landlordism in Kerala thus stands abolished. Every cultivator of the soil or occupant of the land is to be a present proprietor. The land in excess of the ceiling has been provided to be distributed to the landless with 50% reservation to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. The Hutment-dwellers (Kudikidappukarns) have been assured of proprietorship of the land in and around their hutments to a minimum of 0.03 acres in Corporations, 0.05 acres in Municipal areas and 0.10 acres in villages.

Due to the introduction of the Land Reforms Act the practice of mortgaging the land to individuals is reduced considerably. Bonded labour is not prevalent in this village. Altogether 600 families are landless in this village. Crop sharing practice is very rare in this village. The size of land-holdings is very small in the village. 7268 acres of land is divided as follows:

<u>Area in Acres</u>	<u>No.</u>
Above 5	3
2 to 5	22
Below 2	18605

2.5 Agricultural Production: Paddy is the main cereal crop cultivated in the village followed by cocunut and tapioca (Tuber crop). The details of crops grown in the village are as follows:-

1. Paddy	1625 acres
2. Cocunut	1175 acres
3. Tapioca	1575 acres
4. Banana	225 acres
5. Betel vine	10 acres
6. Vegetables	25 acres

1. Paddy: Paddy is the only major cereal crop grown in the wet lands of the village. These wet lands usually lie in stretches in the low areas in the low land regions and the valleys between the hills. A total area of 1200 acres reclaimed from Vellayani lake is now utilised for raising paddy crop.

Two crops are being raised under paddy. In general the first crop (Kharif) of paddy usually sown during June-July is ready for harvest during September-October. The second crop (Rabi) sown in October-November is ready for harvest during the months of January-February. In assured water facilities, a third crop is also raised which is sown during the month of March and harvested during the month of May.

In the reclaimed area of Vellayani lake, two paddy crops are being raised. The first crop is sown during April, May and harvested during the months of August-September. The second crop is raised during the month of November-December after dewatering and harvested during the months of February-March. Average cost of cultivation per acre per season is roughly estimated as Rs.1200.00 whereas the income is Rs.1700.00 through the production of 9 to 10 quintals of paddy and straw worth Rs.500.

2. Cocunut: Cocunut is the main cash crop in the village. The average cost of cultivation for one acre of cocunut (70 trees) in yielding stage comes to Rs. 1500.00, whereas the gross income comes to Rs. 6500.00 through the sale of 6000 nuts etc. (The average price of cocunut is Rs.100.00 per 100 numbers). The average production of nuts per tree is roughly estimated as 35 numbers.

3. Tapioca: This tuber crop is considered as the staple food of the poor. The cost of cultivation varies from Rs.1300 to Rs.1500. The gross income comes to Rs. 5000.00 through the production of 10 M.T. of tuber. The average price of tapioca is 50 P per kg.

The cultivators are using moderate quantities of fertilizers. Manufacturers' fertilizers and central pool fertilizers are being distributed through authorized dealers and Co-operative Societies. Altogether, 6 selling points of fertilizers are in existence in this village.

Average consumption of fertilizers for paddy comes to above 40% of the recommended doze. The practice of applying fertilizers to cocunut is negligible.

The cultivators do use improved High Yielding strains of paddy, cocunut and tapioca for their cultivation. The paddy fields are normally ploughed by traditional ploughs drawn by bullocks, but in recent years iron ploughs and "Mamatty" - a short of spade using manual labour is being used increasingly. It is understood that one digging with Mamatty is equivalent to four ploughings by animals.

There is no problem in marketting the agricultural products as every nook and corners are directly linked with village roads. There is no regulated market in the village. There are 6 public markets and private markets, where the producer, middlemen and the consumer carry out the transactions.

2.6 Cottage Industries: Handloom weaving and pottery are the main cottage industries functioning in the village. Handloom weaving is predominant in Kalliyoor Panchayat only. Roughly about 50 brick manufacturing units with a total number of 800 workers are functioning in the village.

An Industrial Estate is also functioning in this village.

2.7 Social Groups: No data is available in respect of social groups. However, it is assessed that nearly 85% of population belongs to Hindus, 10% Muslims and 5% Christians. Hindu community are engaged in agricultural, labour, and Government service as well as private service. Muslims are mainly engaged in trades and business. The Christian population is engaged in cultivation, trade and employment in Government and private service.

The occupations of the people are not strictly connected with their caste. The caste system in this area is now declining and the class system is emerging.

2.8 Indebtedness: People belonging to lower class are generally indebted to the private money lenders. The

middle and higher class of people are utilising the credit facilities of financial institutions. The rate of interest prevailing among the private money lenders varies from 36% to 180%. The financial institutions are levying interest from 5.5% to 18%. The financial institutions allow payment of debts by instalments whereas the private money lenders insist on payment in lump sum. 50% of the population is indebted to private money lenders or to financial institutions. There are two Service Co-operative Societies functioning in the village with a total membership of 4284 and Rs.2,02,035.00 as share capital. The total credit limit available for these two Service Co-operative Societies is nearly 10 lakhs. Due to the introduction of various saving schemes, a good number of people are having saving mentality. The service Societies functioning in the area are issuing loans to the members for non-agricultural purposes also.

Most of the villagers being the poor peasants, are not getting the aid from the financial institutions, because of the lack of knowledge of procedures of these institutions. They approach the local money lender for borrowing. But the middle class people are utilising the financial aid from the banks and Co-operative Societies.

2.9 Public Distribution System: The village is well served by public distribution system. Altogether 16 fair price shops with total ration cards of 5848 Nos. are functioning in the village area in addition to 4 Consumer Co-operative Stores. The total number of units is 51344.

2.10 Leadership: No local village leaders as seen in other parts of India are seen in this village. The political leaders are supposed to be the village leaders also. The village administration is undertaken by the Panchayat. Nemom and Kalliyoor Panchayats of this village have elected bodies of Panchayat (11 elected members in Nemom and 10 in Kalliyoor). One ward for women and one ward for scheduled castes in each Panchayat are reserved. A person who has attained the age of 18 is considered as a voter for Panchayat Election. The tenure of Panchayat is fixed as 5 years. There is no nominated member in the Panchayat.

2.11 Social Organizations: Several Yuvajana Kendras, Sports Clubs, Vanitha Samajas are functioning in this

village. These organizations are engaged in developing the culture, art and sports among the members in the community.

2.12 Family: The family is not matriarchal except in regard to property rights. Male is generally the earning member and dominates. Women generally look after the household and children. Marriage is generally arranged by parents.

3. ROLE OF STATE IN THE WELFARE OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR:

3.1 Kerala is by far the most progressive State as far as welfare of agricultural labour is concerned. The State has passed and enforced several Acts protecting the interests of agricultural labour. Some of the important Acts and their important features are described below:

3.2 KERALA LAND REFORMS ACT 1963 (AMENDED)

1. In Kerala the agricultural workers make their homes on a piece of land belonging to the land owner. This system is known as "KUDIKIDAPPU" and the worker is known as "KUDIKIDAPPUKARAN". In 1969 the Kudikidappukarans having not more than 10 cents of land in a village were declared as owners of the land.

2. In terms of the Kerala Land Reforms Act the Government had fixed a ceiling on the land holding and the surplus land was distributed to the landless workers at the rate of 10 cents of land.

3.3 KERALA AGRICULTURAL WORKERS ACT 1974

The Act provides for the welfare of the agricultural labour and to regulate their conditions of work. The main provisions of the Act are:

1. Preference for Employment: An agricultural worker who has worked on the same land in the previous agricultural season is to be given preference in employment after permanent agriculture workers.

2. If a worker has worked for 3 consecutive seasons and not in the previous season due to reasons beyond his control, has to be given preference.

3. The land owner may not employ an agricultural worker if he has intentionally caused damage of crops belonging to the land owner or caused any other loss to the land owner.

4. Land owner not to employ male workers more than 65 years in age and female workers more than 60 years in age.

5. Hours of work not to exceed:

8 hours for adults

6 hours for adolescent or child.

There should be half hour of rest after 4 hours of work.

6. Wages of Harvest: The wages for harvesting are to be paid first before removing the harvest from the threshing floor.

7. Overtime to be paid at twice the average rate.

8. Agricultural Workers Provident Fund:

The Act provides for the scheme of Provident Fund. The Landowners' contribution to the Fund is 5% of the wages paid and the workers' contribution is also 5% of the wages earned.

9. Disputes: are to be settled through conciliation officer and Agricultural Tribunal.

3.4 AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' MINIMUM WAGES

The Kerala Government have fixed minimum wages for agricultural workers as Rs.9 per day for male workers and Rs.8 per day for female workers, but the actual wages earned

by male workers vary from Rs.12 to Rs.15 per day and the wages earned by female workers vary from Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per day. There is great awareness amongst agricultural workers about the minimum wages fixed by the Government. These wages are protected by intensive trade union activity amongst the agricultural workers.

3.5 AGRICULTURAL WORKERS PENSION SCHEME, 1980

The Scheme provides for payment of pension of Rs.45 per month to agricultural workers who complete 60 years of age on or after 1-4-1980. For the purpose of this scheme an agricultural worker means a person who in consideration of the wages payable to him by a land owner works on, or does any other agricultural operation in or in relation to the agricultural land of such landowner for a period of not less than 10 years, and depends on such wages principally for his/her livelihood, provided that the agricultural worker who owing to old age or physical infirmity are not employed as agricultural workers will also be eligible for pension if they are otherwise eligible under the Scheme.

Exception:

- i) The annual income of the agricultural worker should not exceed Rs. 1500 including income of adult unmarried son or daughter.
- ii) He should not receive any other institutional support.
- iii) He should not receive any other financial assistance from Central, State or local Civil authority or organization.

If the pensioner leaves the State and continues to live for more than 6 months in another State, his pension would be stopped.

4. THE METHODOLOGY OF SURVEY:

4.1 The topic assigned to the author was "Condition of Agricultural Labour" within the general socio-economic

survey of the village. During discussions with the revenue authorities and the Block Development Officer it was understood that Ward X of Nemom Panchayat has a large concentration of agricultural labour. This Ward has 561 houses. It was, therefore, decided to concentrate on this Ward only. The technique of direct interview was used to make in-depth study of the selected households.

4.2 The Nemom Panchayat has numbered all the houses in this Ward e.g. N.P.X-1 etc. To select the houses in a random fashion first three digits of the random tables were used to identify the houses for in-depth study of the households. In this way 33 houses were selected for detailed interviews. The random numbers have been shown in column 2 of Table 1. Ward X of Nemom Panchayat has been shown in Drawing No.3. In Table 1. 26 houses belong to agricultural labour and marginal farmers. These have been marked with an asterisk in red ink. Final analysis of data is confined to these 26 households only.

4.3 In addition to the primary data collected through interviews, secondary and statistical data was also collected through district gazetteer, publications of Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Economics and Statistics and officers of block, taluk, panchayat and other concerned departments. This data will project the profile of the village and help in comparing the results of our study.

4.4 Ward X is a reserved ward for Panchayat elections.

4.5 Table 1 is the compilation of entire information obtained during interviews of the sample households.

5. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED DURING STUDY

5.1 Apart from the limited time of 10 days within which the study had to be completed, there were two other barriers in conducting the study. One was of 'language' and necessity of interpreters. The response from the subject was communicated through the interpreters. This took more time and to some extent introduced the perception of the interpreter.

The other barrier was 'psychological'. The subject had a lurking apprehension that the information given by him may not be used against him. On the first day of our study the Panchayat Officer acted as our interpreter. In his presence the respondents denied the existence of money lenders in the ward or the practice of selling sugar obtained on ration cards. From next day onwards we used the services of a lady social worker and there was total change in the response. With a lady interpreter the response was free, frank and factual. The subjects admitted of selling sugar obtained on ration card, of taking loans on high rates of interest from local money lenders. With a lady interpreter personal questions like family planning husband's drinking habits and beating of wife after drinking evoked frank response.

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6. ANALYSIS OF COMPUTED DATA

6.1 SOCIAL CLASSIFICATION

(a) Hindus	92.4%
Muslims	3.8%
Christians	3.8%
(b) SCHEDULED CASTES	46.2%
SCHEDULED TRIBES	Nil
OBC	34.6%
OTHERS	19.2%
(c) Brahmins	Nil
Nairs	27%
Pulayas	46%
Nadars	12%
Others	15%

6.2 TYPE OF FAMILY

Sample size	26
Single families	20 (77%)
Joint families	6 (23%)

6.3 FAMILY SIZE

Average family size 5.3
 1190 females per 1000 males against 1016
 females for 1000 males for the State as a whole.

<u>Members in the family</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
3	11.5
4	26.9
5	26.9
6	15.4
7	7.7
8	3.9
More than 8	7.7

6.4 EDUCATION

Literate families	92.3%
Illiterate families	7.7%
Literacy rate	79%
Male literacy	82.5%
Female literacy	76%

6.5 HOUSE

(a) Owning own house	96%
Rented House	4%

(b) Type of House

Mud, Thatch	44%
Pucca, Thatch	12%
Pucca, Tiles	44%

(c) Value of House

Upto Rs. 1000	40%
Rs.1001 to Rs. 3000	32%
Rs.3001 to Rs. 5000	12%
Exceeding Rs. 5000	16%

6.6 AGRICULTURAL LAND HOLDING

(a) Landholders	27%
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Upto 0.2 acre	8%
Upto 0.2 to 1.0 acre	8%
1.0 to 2 acres	8%
More than 2 acres	3%

Agricultural labour hardly has any landholding. Cultivators in the category of small and marginal farmers only hold land.

6.7 ANIMALS:

About 46% of the agricultural labour and cultivators own animals.

6.8 TREES:

About 62% of the sample have fruit trees in their fields or homesteads.

6.9 EARNING MEMBERS:

Only male members earning	61% of households
Only female members earning	4% of households
Both male and female members earning	35% of households

6.10 INCOME PATTERNS

(a) In the sample households the average income from agricultural wages alone comes to Rs. 149 p.m. The distribution is as follows:

Less than Rs. 50 p.m.	5% households
50-100 p.m.	30% "
101-150 p.m.	25% "
151-200 p.m.	30% "
above 200 p.m.	10% "

(b) In the sample households the average income from trees is Rs. 71 p.m.

(c) In the sample households the average income from animals is Rs. 13 p.m.

(d) In the sample households the average income from cultivation is Rs. 60 p.m.

(e) In the sample households the average income from trade and services p.m. is Rs. 264.

(f) In the sample households average total income from all sources is Rs. 318 p.m. with the following distribution:

Less than Rs. 100 p.m.	7.7%
101-200 p.m.	42.3%
201-300 p.m.	15.4%
301-400 p.m.	7.7%
401-500 p.m.	11.5%
501-1000 p.m.	11.5%
1001-1500 p.m.	Nil
1501-2000 p.m.	3.9%

6.11 PERCENTAGE OF INCOME SPENT ON FOOD:

In the sample households the average percentage of income spent on food is 72.5%

6.12 LEVEL OF NUTRITION:

In the sample households the level of nutrition is as follows:

Poor	31%
Fair	50%
Good	19%

6.13 RESALE OF RATIONED SUGAR:

42% of sample households were selling sugar obtained on ration cards for supplementary income.

6.14 FAMILY PLANNING:

Undergone by male members	31%
Undergone by female members	27%
None	23%
Widow/widower/bachelor	19%

6.15 DRINKING HABITS

Percentage of household with drinking habits 38

Percentage of households with drinking habits which are in debt 60

Percentage of households with drinking habits where men beat their wives after drinking 60

6.16 INDEBTEDNESS:

Percentage of households in debt = 58

Range of indebtedness

Upto Rs. 100	7.8%
101 to 500	19.2%
501 to 1000	11.5%
1001 to 2000	3.9%
2001 to 3000	7.8%
3001 to 4000	3.9%
Over Rs.4000	3.9%

Loan is taken mostly for consumption purposes, marriages or religious ceremonies.

7. SOME NOTES ON WARD X (KOLIYAKODE)

7.1 EDUCATION: Primary education is compulsory and is free for SC/ST. In the sample households all the children below 12 years were reported going to school. Generally the education ends at SSLC level. There were few Graduates. Since the village has a Women's polytechnic, 2 girls in our sample household were found to have undergone technical training.

The local language is Malayalam.

7.2 WATER SUPPLY:

All the households of our sample had a well in their premises as the water table is very high only 3 to 6 metres below ground level. About 50% of the wells are pucca. Nemom Panchayat has also provided pucca community wells. During summer season some wells dry up. Nairs allow Pullayas (SC) to draw water from their wells. In some cases Nairs do not allow Pullayas to use their own bucket.

7.3 FAMILY PLANNING:

In the sample households there is high degree of awareness towards limiting the family. In many cases women had undergone tubectomy even when they had 2 daughters and no son. Many males were apprehensive of loss of virility and insisted on their women undergoing the operation.

7.4 SOURCES OF SECONDARY FINANCE AND INCOME

In times of emergency pledging of ration card is done. Amount advanced generally is Rs. 10 per unit of ration card.

Many agricultural workers sell sugar obtained on ration card at a premium and get about Rs.5 to 10 per month.

The practice of mortgaging coconut trees is quite common. An yielding coconut is mortgaged for about Rs.100. The moneylender obtains full rights over the produce which fetches him about Rs.80 to Rs.100 per year. The the effective rate of interest on the loan becomes 80 to 100 percent per annum.

7.5 ASPIRATIONS:

In all the sample households, the parents aspire for higher education of their children so that they can get good Government jobs. A Government job is considered a hall mark of security and status.

7.6 APPLIED NUTRITION PROGRAMME

There is a Welfare Centre functioning in the Ward. The Applied Nutrition Programme is run by the Welfare Centre and caters to expectant mothers and children of age group 0-6 years.

7.7 ONE LAKH HOUSING SCHEME

Under the above scheme 20 landless families in Ward X were provided houses of 300 sq.feet in area by the State Government free of cost.

8. THE ROLE OF SMALL FARMERS DEVELOPMENT AGENCY TOWARDS BETTERMENT OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR, SMALL AND MARGINAL FARMERS.

8.1 Self-reliance and reduction of poverty are the two aims of the Government. A vigorous programme of production by utilizing as much as possible the land resources through the use of improved technology is called

for. The holdings of the small and marginal farmers together account for a substantial percentage of the cultivated area. Any programme designed to increase production should, therefore, include this area where small and marginal farmers if adequately helped can contribute substantially to production.

8.2 The principal cause of poverty amongst small and marginal farmers has been the low resource base and their inability to take advantage of modern agricultural technology and to develop well organized subsidiary occupation to improve income. The SFDA has filled this gap by expanding the flow of institutional credit and by providing subsidiary occupations and other employment creating programmes.

8.3 The programmes of SFDA are designed to extend benefits to agricultural labourers also. Labour engaging programmes such as land development, soil conservation, community irrigation works are being executed in the Trivandrum district to provide employment to agricultural labourers during off season.

8.4 Upto 31-3-1979 the SFDA has identified 18248 agricultural labourers and 57819 marginal farmers and has provided employment in slack season. The Agency has also helped in providing subsidiary occupations by distributing milch animals, goats and work animals.

8.5 In 1981-82, SFDA proposes to undertake soil conservation schemes costing Rs.1.82 lakhs in Memom block and minor irrigation schemes costing Rs.9.86 lakhs in the same block. SFDA also proposes to subsidize purchase of implements by agricultural labour by 1/3rd of the amount.

8.6 SFDA has provided work to 30,000 labourers in soil conservation programmes and community minor irrigation schemes.

9. THE STATISTICAL BACKDROP OF THE STUDY.

9.1 KERALA STATE - 1971 CENSUS

Total Population	213.47 lakhs
Males	105.87 lakhs

Females 107.60 lakhs
 1016 females per 1000 males
 Density 549 persons/sq.km
 Hindus 59.41%
 Christians 21.05%
 Muslims 19.5%
 Others 0.04%

Rural Population 17880926
 No. of villages 1268
 Average population per village = 14100
 Average rainfall 3018 mm
 Literacy 60.42%

Agricultural Labour in Rural Areas (1971)

Persons 34.37% of working population
 Males 28.31%
 Females 53.47%

Cropping intensity of Kerala 1.35

9.2 TRIVANDRUM DISTRICT, 1971 CENSUS:

Total population 21.99 lakhs

Male 10.95 lakhs
 Female 11.04 lakhs
 1007 females per 1000 males
 Density 1003/sq.km
 Rural population 74%
 Urban population 26%
 S.C. 9.7%
 S.T. 0.51%
 Hindus 70.72%
 Christians 17.27%
 Others 0.01%

Literacy

Total 62.54%
 Males 68.64%
 Females 56.48%

Houses in Rural Areas

Owned	94.6%
Rented	5.4%

Average Wage Rate of Paddy Field Labour in Trivandrum District

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
	Rs.	Rs.
60-61	1.59	-
65-66	2.96	-
70-71	4.75	-
71-72	4.75	-
72-73	5.10	-
73-74	5.88	4.52
74-75	6.96	5.88
75-76	7.56	6.06
76-77	11.50	8.50

Cropping intensity of Trivandrum District 1.60

Size Distribution of Holdings in Trivandrum District:

According to latest agricultural census data the total number of operational holdings of size above 0.04 ha in Trivandrum District is 217850 covering an area of 93669 ha. Holdings of size less than 0.04 ha are 80131 in number accounting for an area of 2003 ha

<u>Size class ha</u>	<u>Total No. of holdings.</u>	<u>Area in ha.</u>
0.04-0.25	120811	14794
0.25-0.50	48537	17260
0.50-1.00	29838	20631
1.00-2.00	13749	18284
2 - 3	3071	7534
3 - 4	1097	3741
4 - 5	252	1103
5-10	333	2105
10-20	112	1464
20-30	12	324
30-40	8	302
40-50	-	-
50 or more	30	6127
	<u>217850</u>	<u>93669</u>

9.3 WARD NO. X, NEMOM PANCHAYAT

Bureau of Economics and Statistics of Kerala Government had conducted a survey of Koliyakode (Ward No. X) in February 1980. The District Statistical Officer, Trivandrum has compiled the following statistics on the basis of this survey.

Area of ward = 1.1 sq. km.
No. of Households in the ward = 561

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Population	2948	1504	1444
Regularly employed	436	379	57
Self employed	38	35	3
Casually employed	101	92	9
Unemployed	331	189	142
Ex-Service Men	5		

SC: 428 (out of 428, SC, 70 are Christians)

ST 13

Landless households	41
Landowners below 10 cent	290
Landowners above 10 cent	230

Nature of Houses

Huts	94
More than 30 years old buildings	64
Area upto 500 sq.ft	348
Area 501-1100 sq.ft	45
Area 1101-1500sq.ft	9
Area above 1500sq.ft	1

Total = 561

Electrified houses	248
Houses with water seal latrine facility	231

Cropping Intensity in Nemom Block 1.75

9.4 SHORT NOTE FROM DISTRICT GAZETTEER OF TRIVANDRUM

Number of Brahmins in Trivandrum District is very small. Majority are Non-Malyali or Tamil Brahmins. Mamboodris are few in number. Other Hindu castes are Nairs

Exhabas - Originally in toddy drawing trade. Now in agriculture and other trades.

Nadars - Mother tongue Tamil. Some speak Malyalam.

Most important Scheduled Caste is

Pulayas - mostly agricultural labourers.

Scheduled Tribes are Kanikkars (gatherers of honey and herbs)

The observance of traditional caste system with all its rigour and social exclusiveness was for long the peculiarity of Kerala. Caste Hindus were known as Savarnas and Scheduled Caste and backward class were called as Avarnas. However, in recent decades the rigidity of caste barriers has abated considerably and the caste as an institution perpetrating social exclusiveness has lost much of its significance.

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BATTEN OF INDEBTEDNESS AND BONDAGE

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

(1980-81)

VILLAGE STUDY

"PATTERN OF INDEBTEDNESS AND BONDAGE"

by

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This paper is a brief report on socio-economic study of Kolyakodi ward (No.10) of Nemon village in Trivandrum district of Kerala State, particularly the pattern of indebtedness in the ward. Section I of the paper mentions the methodology adopted for the study, Section II gives a general socio-economic description of the area, section III outlines the pattern of indebtedness in the ward and section IV is case study of a debtor and of a money lender.

I

Kolyakodi ward was selected for the present study in consultation with the district authorities who considered that this ward generally represented the socio-economic conditions in the rural areas in the state of Kerala and Trivandrum district. The study had to be completed within 10 days. Therefore, it was decided that primary data on socio-economic conditions should be collected in respect of 33 households by interviewing some of the members of these households. The ward has 561 households. The houses are numbered by Nemon Village Panchayat, as advised by the District Statistical Officer, Trivandrum, the 33 households for interview were identified on the basis of the first three digits of random table applied to the house number allotted to the houses in the ward by Nemon Village Panchayat. Information was collected in respect of the ward also from Block Development Officer, Taluka and Panchayat officials. Statistical data in regard to Trivandrum district and Taluka in which this ward falls was collected from District Gazeteer, Trivandrum and Statistical Hand Book of Kerala, 1979, Bureau of Economics and Statistics. Earlier studies of the ward and of this

area in general by the Bureau and some sociologists was also consulted. Primary data collected in respect of 33 households in the ward is tabulated at App. 'A'. Most of the observations in respect of socio-economic conditions of the ward are based on the primary data. It has been checked that there is no inconsistency in the observations made on the basis of this data. Area statistics mentioned in the paper have been taken from the above government publications and from various authorities in the district.

Apart from the limited time of 10 days within which this study had to be completed, there were two other barriers in conducting the study. One was of 'language' and necessity of communication through interpreters. This took more time. To some extent, this introduced the perceptions of the interpreter. The other barrier was psychological. Subject's response was influenced by his understanding as to how his reply was going to affect his interest. The 3 households interviewed through Taluka and Panchayat officials denied existence of any private money lender or of the practice of resale of sugar taken from fair price shops for self-consumption. When communication was through non-official interpreters, the households were free and frank in their replies. They admitted existence of a number of unregistered private money lenders in the ward. They also admitted resale of ration sugar to earn a few rupees to meet their more pressing need for food. The language and psychological barriers were gradually breaking. The households had started giving very personal information like 'wife beating'. However, the period of 10 days is too short to collect information after overcoming these barriers completely.

II

Trivandrum district in the state of Kerala is bounded by Quilon district in North, Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari

Districts of Tamil Nadu on the East and South and Arabian Sea in the West. Trivendrum is believed to be the abbreviated English form of Tiru Ananthapuram - the poly headed cobra supporting Shri Padmanabh, the deity of Padmanabhswwamy Temple, situated in the heart of the city. The main language of the people here is Malyalam. In 1956, when the State of Kerala was formed, Trivandrum District was reorganised with one Revenue Division, four Talukas, ten towns and ninty four villages. Trivandrum Taluka, which falls under the low land region in the south of the district, has twenty six villages, four towns, fourteen panchayats and one municipality. Nemon village falls in this taluka. The village has a total geographical area of 28.9 sq. k.m. and consists of two Panchayats - Nemon (12.2 sq. K.M.) and Kalijoor (16.7 sq. K.M.)

Members of Panchayat are elected by those above 18 years of age. There is no nominated member in the Panchayat. The elected members elect a President and a Vice President. Panchayat looks after the administration at village level. The tenure of Panchayat is for 5 years. Kolyakodi is ward No.X under Nemon Panchayat. The total area of the ward is 1.1 sq. K.M. App.II is an outline map showing Nemon village, Nemon Panchayat and Kolyakodi ward.

As per 1971 Census, the population of Kerala state was 213.47 lakhs and density per sq. K.M. was 549, which was only 201, fifty years back in 1921. The population data for Trivandrum district and Trivendrum taluka as per 1971 Census is as under: (Supplement to District Gazetteer, Trivandrum, 1979)

	<u>District</u>	<u>Taluka</u>
Total population	2,198,606	747,886
Rural	1,627,040 70%	302,584 40.46%
Urban	571,566 26%	445,302 59.54%
S.C.	213,741	43,202
S.T.	11,050	1,697
Hindus	1,554,675 70.72%	
Christians	379,511 17.20%	
Muslims	264,027 12%	
Others	0.01%	
Females per 1000 men	1003	993
Density per K.M.	1003	2432
Earning members as % of total population	28.58%	28.08%
Earning male members as % of total male population	51%	44.22%
Earning female members as % of total female population	11.77%	11.81%
Agricultural labourers as % total earning members	29.83%	
Cultivators as % of total earning members	14%	
Those engaged in service and trade as % of total earning members	27.73%	

Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Trivandrum had conducted a socio-economic survey of Kolyakodi ward in February'80. The district Statistical Officer, Trivandrum has compiled the following statistics on the basis of this survey. No. of households in the ward --561.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Population	2948	1504	1444
Regularly employed	436	379	57
Self employed	38	35	3
Casually employed	101	92	9
Unemployed	131	189	142
S.C.	428		
S.T.	13		
Ex-servicemen	5		
Landless households	41		
Land owners below 10 cents	290		
Land owners above 10 cents	230		

According to the Block Development Officer, there are 3 households in the ward owning more than 5 acres of land, and 20 households owning 2.5 to 5 acres of land and 427 households owning less than 2.5 acres of land. 140 households are below poverty line and 228 households are in low income group in the ward. On Implementation of the Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1963, surplus land of 6 acres, 91 cents and 68 links was found in Nemon village. The whole of the land has been distributed among the landless. According to the February, 1980 survey of the ward, there are 348 houses with upto 500 sq. ft. area, 45 houses with 501 to 1100 sq. ft. area, 9 houses with 1101 to 1500 sq. ft. area and one house with more than 1500 sq. ft. area. 248 houses are electrified and 231 houses own wells. 50% of wells are pucca and water is available at a depth of 10 to 20 feet. Drinking water is no problem in the area because those who have wells allow others to take water and Panchayat has also provided pucca community wells. The houses are scattered throughout the ward. A few houses are pucca. But most of them are thatched made of mud and leaf. Out of 33 sample households, 90% were of a value of Rs.5000/- or less. Only one house was of a value above Rs. one lakh. Daily wage earners mostly lived

in butments as Kudikidaphukars with only right of possession - for generations. Legally, now they have been given proprietary rights in respect of these lands, but the dwellers are not aware of this fact and are often subjected to threats of eviction.

The average literacy in Kerala state is 60.4%. For males the average is 66.42% and for females it is 54.31%. In Trivandrum District, the average is 62.54%, for males 68.66% and for females 56.46%. In rural areas the average is 60.46% and in urban areas 67.27%. In Trivandrum Taluka, in rural areas the average is 64.82% and in urban areas the average is 68.79%. 33 sample households revealed 80% literacy in the ward but the education had stopped in most of the cases at SSLC (Matriculate) level. There are only a few graduates. Primary education is compulsory for all and is free for SC/ST. In the 33 sample households every child below 12 years was reported to be going to school.

In Kolyakodi ward 78% of the households are Hindus, 11% are muslims and 11% are Christians. Christians are mainly Catholics. Hindus have a caste system as in other parts of the country. Earlier there were separate occupations for each caste and a hierarchical relationship as between castes and sub castes. Inter caste marriage and dining was prohibited and 'pollution' was practiced. Tamil brahmin and Namboodries were at the top of the hierarchy, followed by Nairs and Ezhvas, who were Kshatriyas. Pulayas, Nadars (OBC) and Kammalas are scheduled castes (Sudras), at the bottom of the hierarchy. There is no Brahmin household in the ward. Over 70% Hindu households are Nairs and about 15% scheduled castes. Muslims and Christians households are few. The Nairs are mostly engaged in agriculture, government service and professions. Scheduled castes are mainly daily wage earners as agricultural labourers or load lifters. Earlier Nadars

were toddy trappers. Kammalas were artisans divided in several occupational groups - like Isaris (carpenters), Thattan (goldsmith), Kallan (worker in stone), Mochali (coppersmith), etc. Pulayas are mainly agricultural labourers. Kannikoers are scheduled tribes gathering forest products like herbs and honey. During last 10 years, the caste barrier in matters of marriage and dinning have substantially broken down. In the ward, there were some inter caste marriages and in matters of dinning and taking water from well, 'Pollution' is now not practiced. Men have accepted the change more than women. Some ladies still expressed caste reservations. This ward is reserved for 'scheduled caste' for membership of Nemon village panchayat. The 150 years old Shiva Temple in the ward is open to scheduled castes for about last 30 years. Nairs no longer resist entry of SCs into the temple. The basis of social relationship has now shifted from religion and caste to class or income groups.

There are more nuclear families than joint families. Out of 33 sample households, 23 are single families. The average size of the single family is 4-5 and of joint family is 8-10. Every sample household, excluding the unmarried or widowed households, having 2 or more children had adopted family planning. The 'family' in the ward is not matriarchal except in regard to property rights. Male is generally the earning member and dominates in the family. Women generally look after the household and children. Marriage is generally arranged by parents. Recently there were two cases of intercaste marriages in the ward. In one case, the Nair girl had married a Pulaya (SC) boy and was disinherited by her parents. In the other case, a Nair girl had married a lower sub-caste Nair. The marriage was later on accepted by her parents. Wife's brother is found to wield considerable authority in household affairs. In the majority of sample

households wife's brother was present and answered the questions during the present study.

Gents are better dressed than ladies. In all the sample households the ladies stated that they would first give food to husband and only the remaining food they would eat. In their view men have a right to have more and better 'because they are men'. For this very reason, they do not object to men's drinking toddy and tolerate beating by husbands which they stated was not very frequent.

Prohibition Act is not in force in Kerala. In 1/3rd of the sample households, male members were reported to be taking toddy. No female was reported to be taking toddy. In all the cases where the male took toddy, it was reported that he assaulted his wife. 90% of such cases pertained to scheduled castes households. The other 10% of such households were those which were heavily indebted.

Political consciousness is very high in the ward. Every eligible person, male or female, is utilizing the right to vote. Women are guided by their husbands and men by their 'party' in deciding for whom to vote.

On an average, the poor households spent about 80% of their income on food only. Public distribution system has helped the poor in the ward in keeping their consumption deficit at manageable levels. There are two fair price shops in the ward. 530 ration cards have been issued for a total unit of 2650. Rice, kerosene and sugar are issued from these shops. The quantity per unit is fixed. Those who grow their own paddy are given 50% of the normal quantity of rice. Full quantity of rice is not taken by all the card-holders because of either non-availability of money or the quality of rice is not good. Kerosene is taken regularly by all card-holders. The poor and heavily indebted households resell the sugar to earn a profit of Rs.3 to Rs.4 per k.g. every month. Out

of 33 sample households, 12 households admitted that they resold their sugar taken from the fair price shop. Persons in the age group of 7 to 30 spent on cinemas and those in age group 45 to 65 on religious functions.

The average rainfall is about 2000 mm. There are about 100 rainy days in a year. The district has a varied and rich flora on account of its moderate temperature, heavy rainfall, proximity to sea and the mountainous border on the East - the Western Ghats. Paddy, Topoica, Plantains, Palm, Coconut, mangoes, rubber, tea, pepper are the main crops and the area is rich in fish. Topoica which is sold at a rate of 60 paise for one K.G. is the main food of the poor. Two K.G. of Topoica can provide one meal to 5 persons. Topoica is hard to digest. Rice, coconut and plantain are also consumed in the area in large quantities. According to the BDO, in Kolyakodi ward, 40% of the land is used for growing topoica, 30% for paddy and 15% land is under coconut. Nayyar Dam Canal passes by this ward. It is an important source of irrigation for the ward. Two crops of paddy are sown - Kharif in June/July and Rabi in October. Sometimes a third crop is sown in March. On an average, 10 quintals of paddy costs Rs.1200/- and sells for Rs.1700/-. One coconut tree gives about Rs.100/- in a year. The cultivators do not have modern agricultural implements, but they use fertilizers and improved seeds.

Agricultural labourer in the village gets daily wage of Rs.15/- if he is a male and Rs.9/- if a female as against minimum wage of Rs.9/- fixed by the government. The prevalent wage rates are ensured because the workers are unionised. According to Statistical Handbook of Kerala, 1979, in Trivandrum district, during 1976-77, daily average agricultural wage was Rs.14.17 and for field labour Rs.7.67 as against Rs.15/- and Rs.10.67 respectively in Cannannore district in the State.

In the ward, the sample households reported that on an average they get work only for 4-5 days in a month. Sometimes they get part time work as load lifters in the city. This gives them an average daily income of about Rs.4/- to Rs.5/-. Some agricultural labourers over 60 years of age have applied under the Agricultural Pension Act for a pension of Rs.45/- p.m. So far no application from this ward was sanctioned. The Panchayat official confirmed that these applications were being examined. In the district, the unemployment is increasing. In 1977, the persons on the live register of the Employment Exchange were 1,54,596 as against 1,02,253 in 1972. The villagers were found having a few cows, goats and hen. Some villagers have brick kilns. But animal husbandry and cottage industries have not developed in this area inspite of the proximity of the city, high rate of literacy and high political consciousness.

Three fourth of the sample households are in the income group below Rs.5000/- and no household was having income of over Rs.20,000/- - per annum. In the case of ^{one} third households, level of nutrition is poor and it was just satisfactory in the case of two third households. Poor nutrition level is in the case of scheduled caste and daily wage earning households. Nutrition level is good in the case of households with their own cultivation or those having income from trade or service.

Kolyakodi ward is only 6 k.m. from the main Trivandrum City. National highway is only 10 yards from the ward. City bus service provides cheap and regular mobility. Most of the villagers use cycle for going to city. Trivandrum-Kanya Kumari railway line runs through the ward. In this Talika, there are 54 post offices and 5 telegraph offices.

Hand carts and cycle rickshaws are used for carting loads - which provides employment to some persons in the ward. The ward is well connected with other wards with pucca roads. Therefore, there is no problem of marketing or of middleman exploitation in the ward.

III

"No economic survey or enquiry into rural indebtedness has been conducted in the district as such. Hence figures regarding the extent of agricultural indebtedness in the district are not available". (Gazeteer of India, Kerala, Trivandrum, 1961, page 415) The note on socio-economic conditions in Nemon village given by the BDO says that 'no data are available regarding the indebtedness of the people living in the village. The local money lenders are practically nil'. The note given by the Tehsildar says that the people belonging to lower class are indebted to private money lenders and the rate of interest charged by them varied from 36% to 120% per annum and that the money lenders insisted on full repayment of debt and do not accept repayment in instalments. The Executive Officer of Panchayat insisted that there was no private money lender - registered or unregistered in Kolyakodi ward and no one in the ward was indebted to any private money lender. First three sample household interviewed with the help of Executive Officer, Panchayat, are reported to have said that there was no private money lender in the ward and no one was indebted to any private money lender. Ward member of village Panchayat also stated that there was no private money lender or debtor in the ward. However, out of the other 29 households interviewed with the help of a non-official interpreter, 17 admitted to have taken loan from a private money lender in the ward and 11 others stated that though they had not taken any loan, they know that private money lenders were giving loans to the villagers in the

ward. Thus, the official level perception that there is no private money lender or villager indebted to private money lender is contrary to reality. No money lender in the ward admitted that he was doing money lending business. The sample households gave the number of private money lenders in the ward between 4 to 20. All the money lenders in the ward are unregistered. The loans from private money lenders have been taken mainly by poor daily wage earning class. They are mostly Pulyas (SC) and from other backward communities. Five sample households who have taken loan from Banks and Cooperatives are Nairs and are relatively better off. The purpose of taking loan from the money lenders is for day to day consumption whereas the purpose of taking loan from cooperatives and banks is either business or special needs like child birth, construction of house or marriage. The private money lender does not always insist on security but the bank or cooperatives take security. The rate of interest charged by bank/cooperatives is $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ to 18% whereas the rate of interest charged by private money lender is 36% to 180%. Generally, the private money lender charged a rate of interest of 60% p.a. The amount of loan given by the private money lender to an individual is generally below Rs.500/- and in very few cases over Rs.2500/- whereas in the case of loan given by banks and cooperatives, the amount is over Rs.2500/-. These facts are borne out by the data collected from the sample households and tabulated in App. III.

Leela Gulati in her paper "Profile of a Female Agricultural Labourer" - Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum (Aug' 77) has observed that it is a common practice in Trivandrum to pledge 'ration card' when in need of money. Loan of Rs.10/- for each unit is available against the card. During the present study of Kolyakodi ward all the sample households produced their ration cards which leads to the belief that this practice seems to be over now.

Some deficit households have been able to avoid indebtedness to money lenders or institutions on account of the practice of 'subscription' and mutual assistance. It is a custom in the village to give by way of non-returnable subscription some money to the families in which there is some social function. Every household in the village, gives some such subscription to the family in which there is function. Relatives and friends help the households by giving assistance which is returnable, but without any interest. Non-returnable subscriptions and interest free returnable assistance have saved the poor in the village community from serious indebtedness to money lenders.

"Chitti" - an institution peculiar to Kerala, is popular among the poor villagers. It provides them credit on the basis of their small savings. Chitti is an arrangement by which a number of persons agree to contribute a certain amount of money or quantity of grain by periodical instalments for a certain period, and each in his turn as determined by lot or auction is entitled to the Chitti fund. Chitti is common among the poor villagers of Kolyakodi ward.

There is no bonded labour in this village/ward. Some agricultural labourers are permanently attached to some cultivator households. This ensures work for the agricultural labourers from these households. They are also able to take monetary help, interest free and without security from these households. They repay these loans by working on their fields and allowing deduction of 25% to 50% of wages towards the loan. Since these persons are free to work elsewhere and repay the loan in any other manner, this practice cannot be called as of bonded labour. The labourer has the freedom to work elsewhere. When he works on creditors farm, he is paid wage at full rate - except for deduction towards the principal amount of loan.

In cases where the loan has been taken for consumption purpose, the rate of interest is generally very high, and the capacity to repay is low. Repayment is generally arranged by taking loan from other money lenders. In the process, their indebtedness has continued to increase. The money lenders insist on repayment of the entire loan in one instalment. This is contrary to the Kerala Agriculturists Debt Relief Act, 1958, according to which, the debtor can repay in instalments. The sample household are not aware of this Act.

Of the sample households, 23 are single families and 10 are joint families. Out of joint families, 80% are indebted and out of single families, only 50% are indebted. The indebted families are mostly those which have a membership of 8 or more. Larger the size of the family, more are the chances of being indebted. Out of the sample households, indebted families are those in which the number of earning members is limited to one or two. Those families whose members take toddy are also indebted. Families which have more school going children have incurred debts.

The money lenders in the village are un-registered. Therefore, they are not able to take recourse to law courts for recovery of the debt. They scold and harass the debtors to recover the interest and the principal. Sometimes they take police to the debtors house to threaten him. However, there had been no case of physical assault for recovery of debts. 'Party' is said to be a deterrent to money lenders in taking law into their hands against the debtors. Besides, money lenders have not been giving large amounts to the debtors. Security in the form of gold ornaments, utensils, etc. also helps the money lender in realising the principal and the interest.

Out of 33 sample households, 3 households are not having any expenditure deficit. Two of these households are Nairs

and one is a Nadar (OBC). Two of them are single families and one is a joint family. The size of two families is 5 and of one 7. One of the households is using the surplus for money lending in the ward and one is depositing it in the bank and the third is expanding his brick kiln business with the help of the surplus. He had also taken a loan from bank for this purpose.

There are two cooperative societies and 3 branches of bank in Nemon village. Except for a few relatively well off villagers, 90% of the households have not used these institutions. Cooperatives have schemes for loan for consumption purposes - Rs.1500/- for marriage and Rs.1,000/- for other purposes. But the poor in the village have no means to subscribe to the membership of the society or to give security. Procedural complications have also deterred them. Their needs are for small amounts. So they prefer the local money lender.

The sample households stated that the money lenders do not require execution of any document except when the loan has become very old. The money lender normally writes the debt in his books of account which the debtor is required to sign. There was no complaint of inflated recording of the loan amount. Also there was no complaint of short payments. There is no practice of deduction of interest in advance or for any expenses. These households who took loans from banks or cooperatives also did not complain of any payment to any officials for obtaining the loan. Small amounts upto Rs.15/- were stated to have been deducted towards stamp duties and typing of papers etc.

A large number of villagers in the ward are indebted, but for small amounts only, mainly for basic consumption needs. Their exploitation is by way of a very high rate of interest and confiscation of pledged goods and in no other form. The villagers are not in a position to utilise institutional facilities for loans at low rates of interest.

IV

Krishnan is a Pulaya (SC) living in Kolyakodi ward of Nemon village of Trivandrum Taluk in district of Trivandrum. He along with his six brothers jointly inherited 15 coconut trees from their father. But these trees were mortgaged by his father 20 years back for a loan of Rs.1000/-. The money lender takes the yield of coconuts towards the interest. The present value of the yield is about Rs.1,500/- p.a. Five years ago, the original money lender sold this transaction to another money lender. The document executed by Krishnan's father at the time of taking the loan was also transferred to the present money lender. Krishnan has not seen the document. He only knows that there is a document of loan and mortgage executed by his father, but he is not aware of the contents of the document. Krishnan is not aware that he could obtain loan from a Cooperative society or a bank at a low rate of interest and get the trees and the yield of coconuts released, from the money lender. Krishnan and his brothers had once managed to collect Rs.900/- which they tried to give to the money lender for part release of the trees. But the money lender refused to accept the part payment and insisted that the loan should be returned in full in one instalment. Since then, Krishnan and his brothers have spent the sum of Rs.900/- Krishnan has taken a further loan of Rs.300/- from another money lender on an interest of 60% p.a. by pledging a gold chain. He is likely to lose the gold chain because he has not been able to pay the interest. Krishnan and his brothers are not aware of the Kerala Agriculturist Debt Relief Act, 1958 under which the money lender could not have refused to accept repayment of loan in instalments.

Krishnan and his brothers are agricultural labourers. The average size of their family is six. They spend on

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schooling of their children and also on today. On an average, they get work for 7 days in a month. Their daily wage is Rs.15/- but they have taken some advance from the cultivators on whose fields they work. The cultivator does not charge any interest but deducts 50% of the wage towards the advance. They have no hope to get back their trees because they are otherwise also indebted. They find it difficult to meet even their basic needs for food and clothing. They continue to pay interest at the rate of 150% p.a. for the loan of Rs.1000/- taken by their father 20 years back.

Madhavan Nair is a brick kiln owner in Kolyakodi ward of Nemon village. He has a family of 5. His three children go to school. He is married to a Nadar lady who was working on his farm. His annual income is about Rs.9400/- (Rupees 1500 from coconut trees; Rs.400/- from sale of milk; Rs.500/- from cultivation of paddy, Rs.6000 from brick kiln and Rs.1000 from money lending). His expenses are about Rs.5000/- p.a. Thus he is able to save about Rs.5000/- in a year. He is keeping the savings at home and has never deposited it in bank though he has some friends working in banks and insisting on him to deposit it in the bank. He is using the saving for money lending to villagers. This fact he does not admit because he is an unregistered money lender. But some of those who have taken loans from him have confirmed that he charges interest at a rate of 60% p.a. and requires security in the form of gold ornaments and utensils. He regularly recovers the interest. His wife is mainly handling the money lending business. She generally gives the loan to ladies and does not insist on signing of any document. In case of default in payment of interest, he sells the pledged goods. Those who have taken loan from him are terribly afraid of him. They refuse to give more information about him because he could make their life

in the village difficult. Mr. Nair is not interested in investing his savings either in business or in cultivation. Obviously, he is earning much more from money lending - 60% return on the investment.

VILLAGE STUDY REPORT

Subject : **PATTERN OF INDEBTEDNESS AND BONDAGE**

A study of Eklingspura and Kaladwas Villages

Block : Girwa

District : Udaipur, Rajasthan

P. K. BAGCHI

Roll No. 606



Sixth Advanced Professional Programme in Public Administration

Indian Institute of Public Administration

Indraprastha Estate

Ring Road

New Delhi-110002

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VILLAGE STUDY

As a part of the above programme, a team of seven members, with Dr. P.M. Varma of the IIPA as Supervisor, conducted a socio-economic study of two villages - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - in the Girwa Block of Udaipur District in Rajasthan for two weeks from December 1, 1980. The members of the team and the subjects of their study are given below:-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Subjects</u>
1. Shri P.K. Bagchi	Pattern of indebtedness and bondage.
2. Shri P.U.C. Chowdary	Inter-Caste relations.
3. Shri L.R. Julka	Condition of agricultural labour.
4. Shri D.C. Mishra	Perception of development & change.
5. Shri V.K. Seth	Consumption Pattern.
6. Shri M.P. Vasudeva	Cropping and input use pattern.
7. Miss R. Vijayalakshmi	Status of women.

The broad framework of the report is as under:-

- Part-II. Carries a brief description of Udaipur District, the Girwa Block and the two villages of Eklingpura and Kaladwas. It also explains the reasons for selection of these two villages for the above study. This portion has been prepared jointly by the study team from the information collected, as well as that supplied by the District Administration.
- Part-III Gives a general introduction of the specific subject of study, the objectives and the methodology followed.
- Part-III Presents an analysis of the data collected and the conclusions of the member concerned.
- Part-IV Contains supporting annexures.

The members of the study team are grateful to the officials of the District Administration of Udaipur, who extended the necessary assistance and co-operation in all possible manner to enable the team to conduct a meaningful study. The members also place on record their deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Varma, who, besides being a source of inspiration, rendered valuable guidance all through.

New Delhi
December 20, 1980.


Signature.

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PART I

PROFILE OF THE DISTRICT, FLOCK AND THE VILLAGES

Hallowed by the heroic battles fought by Maharana Pratap against Akbar's mighty Mughal forces, Mewar, the Kingdom of Sisodia Rajputs, occupies a unique place in the Indian History. Udaipur, founded in the year 1567 by Maharana Udai Singh, was the last of the capitals of the State of Mewar.

Thoughts of the desert seem a mirage in the serene coolness of the lake-borne city of Udaipur. Cupped with soft-green hills, the opiate beauty of this city is like a joyous miracle in the dusty, wind-blown heat of Rajasthan. Still evoking the rich sensibilities of a royal lineage, long gone by, the dreamy city of Udaipur is unique in its elusive, feminine quality amongst the masculine citadels of Rajasthan. Shimmering and twinkling, the lakes of Pichola, Fateh Sagar, Swaroop Sagar and Udai Sagar give the city its haunting beauty.

Historically famous and culturally rich, the present district of Udaipur abounds with a number of interesting places. Haldighati, where a valiant battle was fought by Rana Pratap, riding his gallant horse, Chetak, is in this district. Nathdwara, where the great temple of Srinathji enshrines a unique monolithic black-stone image of Sri Krishna, is only fortyeight kilometres north of Udaipur. The Eklingji temple, on the shores of a lake, houses the presiding deity of the Ranas of Mewar.

Situated around 75° longitude and 24° latitude, in the South-western part of Rajasthan, Udaipur district is dotted with green, lofty and minerally rich Aravalli ranges. Endowed with a temperate and healthy climate, the district has seventeen tehsils, divided into eighteen blocks.

The district is predominantly rural, with 3,116 villages and 92 per cent of the population living in villages. The ancient tribe of Bhils, also known as Gamethis, whose close association with the Ranas of Mewar was symbolised in the emblem of that State, constitute a sizable one-third of the population of the district. Latest estimates put the total population of the district at 2.4 million.

Agriculture forms the backbone of the district with two-thirds of the population making a living out of it. Due to the hilly terrain, the area is rocky and uneven, with very low water table. The rainfall is also scanty, averaging around 630 mms. The rural economy, which has to sustain itself through agriculture, is adversely affected by the vagaries of nature. The rainfall is often quite untimely and erratic. The district is also drought-prone and has been famine-stricken for the last four years continuously, causing damage to the economic equilibrium.

The farmers in the district have to put forth more than average efforts to eke out a living. Man-made distortions and fragmentation of land have also contributed to the situation. The district, with predominantly small land holdings, has a total area of two million hectares of which only 18 per cent is cultivated. The area under more than one crop constitutes only 43 per cent of the cultivated area. Nearly three-fourths of the holdings are under three hectares, while holdings below one hectare account for half of the cultivated area.

The principal crop is maize, which is evident from the famous slogan in the area - "Gehoon Chodna Makki Khana, Mewar Chodkar Kahin na Jana". Other important crops are wheat, barley, gram and pulses. Foodgrains account for 85 per cent and Oil-seeds for 8 per cent of the total area under cultivation.

The district has been declared by the Government as an industrially-backward area. However, a few large and medium scale industries have sprung up in and around Udaipur city. These include the Hindustan Zinc Limited, J&K Tyres Ltd., Pesticides India Ltd., Udaipur Cotton Mills, etc. While there are 731 units in the small-scale sector, cottage and household industries number about 11,500. The employment potential of these industrial units works out to a meagre 6 per cent of the total work force available in the district.

The Block:

The Girwa Panchayat Samiti is contiguous to Udaipur City. The

Samiti consists of 161 villages and 35 Gram Panchayats. The population of the Samiti is 2.34 lakhs out of which 56,000 belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Out of a total area of 1.31 lakh hectares, only 0.25 lakh hectares are cultivable. The land holdings are also small with 85 per cent of the total holdings being under three hectares.

The Samiti is thus fairly representative of the district with regard to the occupational patterns, area under cultivation, land holdings, distribution of population, etc.

The Villages under Focus:

Two adjacent villages, Eklingpura and Kaladwas, along with a third village Manwakhera, form part of the Gram Panchayat of Kaladwas. The two villages selected for study - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - are about a kilometre apart from each other and lie on the Udaipur-Jhamar Kotra Road and are about seven and ten kilometres respectively from the district headquarters of Udaipur.

Both these villages were established around 1450 AD. The Bhils, who were natives of the area, were displaced by the Dangis, the farmers' community. Originally known as Rohiad Pura, the village Eklingpura obtained its name during the reign of Maharaja Bhupal Singh of Mewar State. Eklingji, as already mentioned, is the presiding deity of the State of Mewar. There is an old Shiva temple in the village, in a cave, which is the oldest structure in the area. 'Poornima Mela', a village fair, is held on every full-moon day.

These villages had the distinction of having received a foreign dignitary, when Mr. Malcolm Fraser, the Australian Prime Minister, visited them in January 1979. This historic visit has been commemorated by naming the road leading to Eklingpura as 'Fraser Lane'. Para

Parakakhet is a hamlet of Kaladwas, wherein live the Scheduled Tribe, the Bhils or Gamethis. It is two-and-a-half kilometres from the main village.

WHY THESE TWO VILLAGES WERE SELECTED FOR STUDY ?

The selection of these two villages for the purpose of this study was made on the basis of accessibility, exposure to various development programmes and proximity with block and district headquarters. These villages are also representative villages of the district with regard to rainfall, proportion of irrigated land and

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE VILLAGES

The following are the salient features of the villages under study:

<u>Population:</u>	<u>Kaladwas</u>	<u>Eklingspura</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male	719	416	1135
Female	669	357	1026
Total:	1388	773	2161
Scheduled Castes	116	43	159
Scheduled Tribes	433	112	545
<u>Households:</u>			
a) Kaccha	300	105	405
b) Pakka	45	54	99
Total:	345	159	504
<u>Literacy:</u>			
Number of literates	351	271	622
Number of Illiterates	1037	502	1539
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Occupations:</u>			
Number of workers	416	259	675
Number of non-workers.	972	514	1486
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Workers:</u>			
Cultivation	261	177	438
Household industries	10	4	14
Manufacturing	40	9	49
Construction	25	11	36
Agricultural Labourers	9	10	19
Trade & Commerce	7	4	11
Mining	11	5	16
Others	53	39	92
Total:	416	259	675
<u>Area: (in acres)</u>			
a) Geographical Area	2090	1823	3913
b) Area under cultivation	780	724	1504
i) Area irrigated	477	359	836
ii) Area unirrigated	303	365	668
Total:	780	724	1504
No. of wells with electric pump-sets	51	35	86
No. of tractors in the village	-	1	1

* According to 1971 Census.

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<u>Crops: (in acres)</u>	<u>Kaladwas</u>	<u>Eklingpura</u>	<u>Total</u>
a) <u>Kharif</u>			
Maize	359	309	668
Sugarcane	38	23	61
Vegetables	13	18	31
Other Crops	59	25	84
Total:	469	375	844
b) <u>Rabi</u>			
Wheat	164	201	365
Barley	86	80	166
Gram	30	39	69
Vegetables	4	8	12
Fodder	27	21	48
Total:	311	349	660

Land-holdings:

Less than 2.5 acres	231	72	303
2.5 to 5 acres	57	50	107
5.1 to 7.5 acres	30	16	46
7.6 to 10.0 acres	10	10	20
Above 10 acres	17	11	28
Total:	345	159	504

Other Details:

Schools:

No. of primary schools	1	1	2
No. of middle schools	1	-	1

Students:

No. of boys	208	75	283
No. of girls	20	21	41
Total:	228	96	324

Post Office	1	-	1
Sub-centre of Health	1	-	1

Distance from District Headquarters	10 Km	7 Km	
Distance from Block Headquarters	10 Km	5 Km	
Distance from Railway Station	5 Km	6 Km	

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शुक्रादिपुरा

नजरी नक्शा ग्राम कलकवास

तहसील - गिरगा जिला उदयपुर
(राज-प्रांत)

उत्तर

सरहद भारती प्रशासन

नजरी नक्शा

(राज-प्रांत) (उदयपुर में स्थित है)

म.प्र. केसपुरा
JL JL
JL JL

नजरी
JL JL

आवासीय जमीन
JL JL
JL JL

सिंचन

नजरी नक्शा

नजरी नक्शा

उदयपुर से आवासीय जमीन
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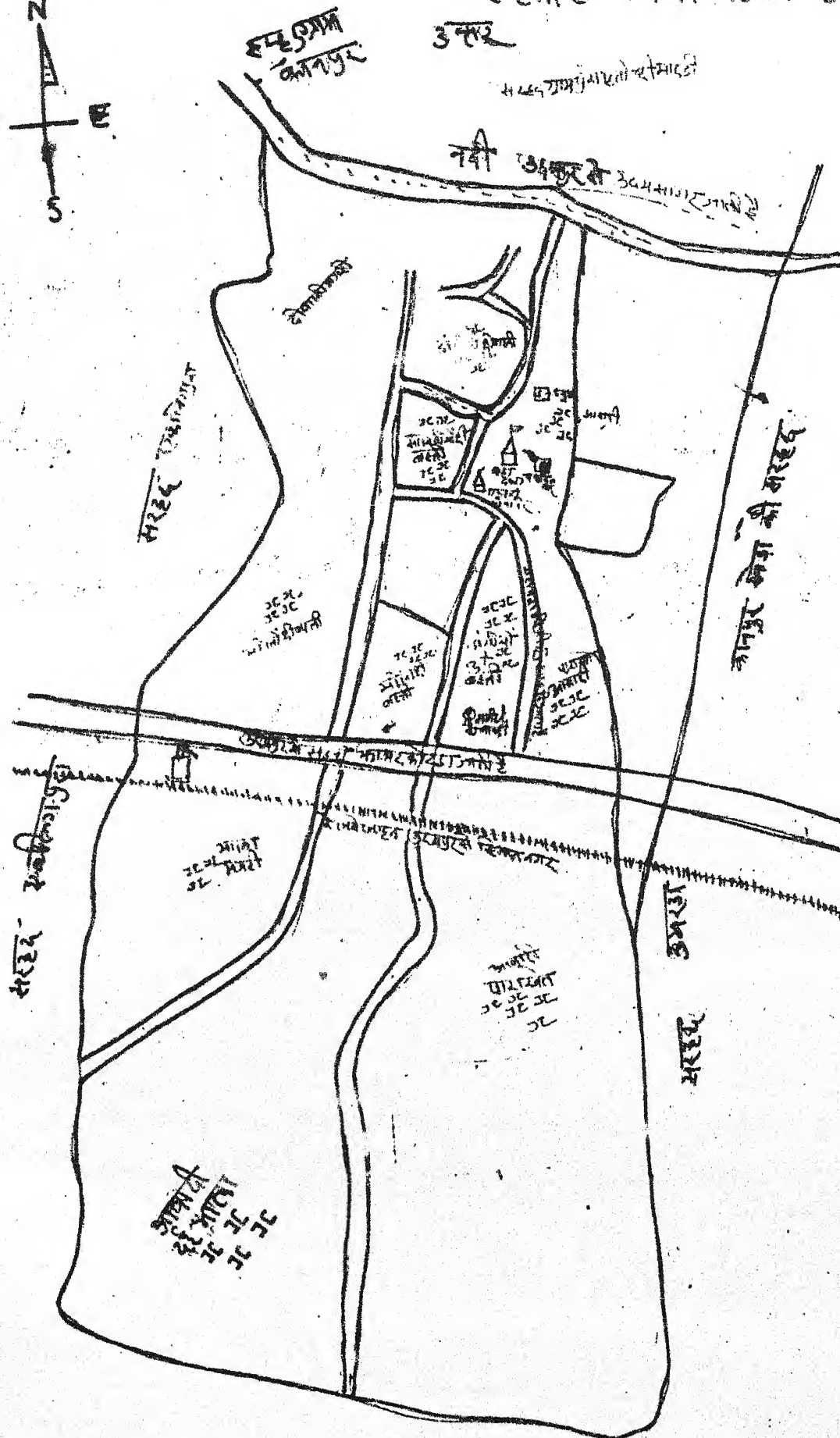
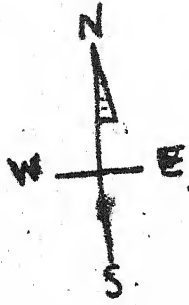
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दक्षिण

नजरी नक्शा

(राजस्थान)

स. २२७ ग्रामपंचायत रतमाहरी



२९

सारांश डाक बालिका

PART-II

1. Background

In the prevailing abject poverty of rural India, if any thing has a free run it is the scourge of indebtedness. Centuries of exploitation by foreign rulers, uncertainties of weather, small and fragmented holdings, low productivity and primitive methods of cultivation have not permitted those who live by the land, to thrive and prosper. The rapidly increasing population has further impinged on the developmental effort and has, if anything, worsened the economic condition of the rural population. Debts are therefore an easy and perhaps, the only, way out for making a living and to avert want. This is not a recent phenomenon. It has been there since the country lost its plentiful wealth. Living on debts, has, now, become a fact of life for the Indian villager, for he has seen his parents, and forefathers writhing under its weight, and often, he, himself is made to carry the burden, of paternal debts, all through his life.

Well meaning, 20th century Indians have appreciated the alarming proportions of the problem of indebtedness in rural India. Gandhi, perhaps, was one of the first Indians to realise that the prosperity of the country was interminably linked with the prosperity of the Indian peasant. His ideal was, therefore, a rational, healthy village community, emancipated from the dehumanization directly attributable to poverty; indebtedness, hunger and insecurity. In the 30s, the concept of planning gained strength, particularly, because of its success in a then predominantly agrarian economy of Russia. Patriotic Indians looked for ways and means to improve the shattered rural economy. The National Planning Committee, constituted after the Congress ministries assumed power in the Provinces subsequent to the elections of 1937, espoused the cause of collectivisation of land holdings as a measure to ameliorate the conditions of the Indian peasantry. Even 'the Bombay Plan'

which was an economic plan formulated by the industrialists, proposed the liquidation of rural debts through the cooperative agencies. Subsequent to independence, one plan after the other has attempted to tackle the problem of rural uplift, though, with shifting emphasis and a success which, at best, is dubious. But this does not detract from the fact that the problems of rural India, of which indebtedness of the rural folks is an integral and major issue, have exercised the minds of nationalist Indians and the nationalist government.

Perhaps, in the areas which have been swept by the 'green revolution' the problem of indebtedness is not acute. But in those parts of the country, which are dependent on nature's mercies, and, naturally, are relatively poor, the p^esantry is unable to disentangle itself from the chains of indebtedness. This is what has been witnessed in the two villages, Eklingspura and Kaladwas, under the Kaladwas Panchayat. Though, Udaipur is one of the wetter and greener districts of Rajasthan, yet the rainfall is sufficient only for single cropping. Wherever, in these two villages, people have been able to strike water and have been able to irrigate, with electrically operated pumps or with traditional contrivances, they have put the lands under double cropping. This is, however, a scarce phenomenon, as, more often, the wells dry up soon after the monsoons. Besides, often well digging operations prove futile as the water table is so low. Coupled to these are the adverse quality of the soil, and the fragmentary character of the predominantly small and marginal holdings, which ensure low productivity. And, the scene is ideally set for perpetuation of indebtedness, which the banks, nationalised with a populist slogan, have been unable to curb.

The Bench Mark Survey, conducted in 1979, by Shri Vijai Verma, Commissioner, Tribal Development Area, reveals the extent of indebtedness in Girwa Block, within which these two villages are located. According to the survey, 76.20% of the Scheduled Tribes, 75.98% of the Scheduled Castes and 60.92% of others are

indebted, with more than 71% of the overall population of the block in debts.

2. Objects of the Study:

Indebtedness is a personal matter, of which nobody wishes to give an inkling to others, particularly to unknown and strange urbanised investigators. In any part of the country, therefore, it is quite a job to get the villagers speak about their debts. The job becomes more difficult with Mewaris, who are a proud lot, proud of their Mewar, its lores, mores and history. Besides, they think nothing of interpersonal debts, even if these carry strings. To them "Karz" is only what they get from the banks or the money lenders.

It was, therefore, with great difficulty that information was collected for this study, the objects of which, broadly, were to ascertain:-

- a) purpose for which debts are incurred
- b) source of these debts
- c) the manner of repayment

It was felt that information acquired on these three main themes would indicate the pattern of indebtedness as only these determine the extent to which rural folks are bound down and exploited. However, due to the reticence of the villagers, it is apprehended that they have not told the entire story in each case. Nonetheless, the results of the study may, at least, indicate, limited as it is in extent, certain trends, and certain patterns, which can be verified by more detailed studies in future.

3. Methodology:

To make an intensive study a considerable amount of available time was spent with the villagers. Efforts were also made to get acquainted, as best^{as} one could in the available time, with the area, the people and their socio-economic background.

Discussions were held with non officials as well as officials of various level, including the District Collector, and Commissioner, Tribal Development Area, Udaipur. Records available at various sources were also referred to.

The main tools of the study were interviews and discussions. Case-study method was also adopted. For purposes of conducting the interviews, an exhaustive questionnaire was prepared well in advance to facilitate quick recording of responses from samples. A copy of the questionnaire is in Part-IV. Interviews were held in the two villages, mostly at the village-Chowras, where villagers normally collect after the day's work, every evening.

4. Sampling:

In a limited study of this nature, obviously, it is impossible to cover the entire population or cross sections thereof. An Indian village is not only socially stratified, but is also stratified on the basis of economic conditions. It would certainly be interesting to study the patterns of indebtedness and bondage in the villages on the basis of the existing compartmentalisation of the population. Since this was not possible, the study drew samples on the basis of land-holdings, with special emphasis on marginal farmers. A lesser emphasis was placed on those who had small holdings and those who are landless. A couple of samples were also drawn from amongst the landholders who did not fall in any of these categories, and are medium sized farmers. However, the main targets were the marginal farmers, who abound in this district. As many as 17 respondents i.e. 56.66%, were chosen from this group. The distribution of samples amongst the four categories is indicated in the following table:

Table-1
Holding wise distribution of samples

Categories	Number of samples	Percentage
Landless	5	16.66%
Marginal farmers	17	56.66%
Small farmers	6	20%
Big farmers	2	6.66%
Total	30	99.98%

The operative variables which were chosen for collection of data from the samples indicated above are age, literacy levels, family size in joint and nuclear families, earning members (in joint and nuclear families), occupation, nature of land holding, purpose for which debt is incurred, amounts of loan, the rate of interest, source of loan, repayment etc. Each of these variables were broken into various alternatives (maximum four) for facilitating analysis. Each of these alternatives will be explained when data collected on their basis are analysed.

PART-III

1. Analysis of data:

a) Purpose of Credits:

The most important purpose of this study is to determine the reasons for which debts are incurred by the rural folks. These reasons were divided into three categories viz., consumption, production, and socio-religious functions. Within the broad head of consumption are grouped credits for all consumption needs, including construction and repair of houses, medical aid etc. Productive purposes include activities which help in the productive processes e.g. digging of well, purchase of electrically operated pumpsets, purchase of bullocks, buffalows and cows, etc. In socio-religious functions are included ceremonies related to births, marriages, deaths, festivals, etc.

The pattern that reveals itself, in so far as the purpose for incurring debts is concerned, will become clear from the table given below. Obviously, the predominant reason appears to be the productive effort, followed by consumption and functions of socio-religious nature.

Table-2
Purpose of loans

Reasons for credit	No.	Percentage
Consumption	13	43.33%
Production	12	40%
Socio-religious	5	16.66%
<u>Total</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>99.99%</u>

It must be said, however, that of the 30 samples, distribution of whom is shown above, eleven had, incurred debts for two of the three reasons. That is to say, four more individuals had taken credits for productive purposes and similarly, seven more had taken for socio-religious functions, apart from one of the two other reason.

b) Source of Credits:

Another matter of interest in this study is regarding the source of credits of the villagers. For ascertaining the source of credit three variables were chosen viz. Banks Government or semi Government institutions extending credit facilities, cooperative societies, etc.; moneylenders and friends/relatives. The villagers of Eklingpura and Kaladwas have the facilities of obtaining credits from, inter alia, the Udaipur Branch of Land Development Bank of Rajasthan and Agriculture Development Branch of State Bank of India located at Badgam, a few kilometres away. Besides, the Panchayat Samiti of Girwa also provides credit facilities.

The analysis of the data collected from the universe in this regard reveals that credits from banks have become as popular as loans from moneylenders, and, now, apparently friends and relatives are relied upon less for loans. The disposition of the universe in this respect is indicated in the following table.

Table-3

Source of credits	No.	Percentage
1. Banks and other institutions	12	40%
2. Moneylenders	12	40%
3. Friends relatives	6	20%

Ten of the respondents, seem to have tapped two or more sources. It is interesting to note that while in Eklingpura respondents were evenly distributed amongst the three sources (four each had approached banks and other credit extending institutions moneylenders and friends relatives), in Kaladwas, the respondents show a preference for the money-lenders. Of the 13 respondents of the village, excluding those in its tribal

hamlet, seven have obtained credits from money lenders, four from banks and other such institutions and two from friends/relatives. Of the five respondents from the tribal hamlet, Parakikhet, four had not only obtained credit from banks etc. but had also secured loans from money lenders. The remaining respondent had also approached the money-lender. Reasons for this proclivity seems to be the need for credit for purposes of consumption which can not be obtained from banks or other like institutions. The money lenders appear to be an easy source and, incidentally, are also available in good numbers in the nearby village of Kanpur. The other reason appears to be general poverty of the village. The productivity of its lands has been affected substantially by lack of irrigation facilities for want of water resources.

c) Amounts of Loans:

Though determination of the extent of indebtedness is not the objectives of this study, yet it was felt necessary to ascertain from all the respondents the amounts of money that they had obtained as credits, which may or may not be outstanding against them now. The intention was to gauge the extent to which villagers are prepared to get tied down with the bonds of debts.

For this purpose the universe was divided into three categories i.e. (a) those who had obtained loans upto an amount of Rs. 1000.00, (b) those who had obtained loans ranging between Rs. 1001.00 and Rs. 2000.00 and (c) those who had taken loans of more than Rs. 2000.00

Analysis of the data in this regard reveals that only 6 individuals out of 30, i.e. 20%, had taken loans of Rs. 1000.00 or less, 11 or 36.66%, had taken loans of between Rs. 1001.00 and Rs. 2000.00 and 13, or 43.33%, had taken credits for more than Rs. 2000.00. It was interesting to note that a larger percentage of people from village Kaladwas, i.e. 10 out of 18, or 55.55%, had obtained credits of more than Rs. 2000.00. All

the 5 respondents of its tribal hamlet of Parakakhet had also obtained credits to the same extent. This phenomenon, once again, illustrates the poverty of the village, particularly of its tribal hamlet. On the other hand, in Eklingpura only 20% of individuals interviewed happened to have obtained loans of more than Rs. 2000.00 each.

As a larger percentage of the sample had taken loans of Rs. 2000.00 and above it would be interesting to see the purpose for which they took the credit and the source thereof. The following two tables make the position clear. The method of repayment of these debtors is not being discussed, since majority make repayments in money, as we shall see later.

Table-4

Purpose of loans of those who took credit
of Rs. 2000.00 and above

Consumption	%	Production	%	Socio religious need	%	Total
8	36.36%	11	50%	3	13.63%	22

Table-5

Source of loans of those who obtained credit of
Rs. 2000.00 and above

Banks/and other institution	%	money- holders	%	friends/ relatives	%	Total
12	54.54%	8	36.36%	2	9.09%	22

It may be added that of these 22 individuals 11 had taken loans for two purposes. If their distribution is added to the figures in table-4, the result will be for consumption:8, for production:15, and for socio-religious needs:10.

Similarly, of those 22 individuals, 8 had tapped two of the three sources of credit. If these are also categorised, the figures in Table-5 change to: from Banks and other institutions of similar nature:12; from money lender:14; and from friends/relatives: 4. Thus we find that productive purposes are major reasons for debts of Rs. 2000.00 and above but the source seems, to be, in a majority of cases, money lenders.

d) Rate of interest paid:

It has already been indicated that the villagers generally obtain credits from rural banks, cooperative banks or other government/semi government institutions or money lenders or friends/relatives. The rural banks or government/semi-government institutions have prescribed rates of interests, which vary from 4% for those who are covered under 'antodaya', or are members of scheduled tribes or are marginal farmers; to 12% for others and small farmers and 14% for the rest. The Panchayat Samiti of Girwa also extends credit facilities at an interest of 10% per annum.

While the moneylenders or shopkeepers of both the villages charge interests from $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ to 2% per month, all the individuals interviewed were forceful in their denial of payment of interests either in cash or kind on credits obtained from friends and relatives, except two from village Eklingspura who admitted to have made payments of interests in crops and another who works on the fields of the creditor in lieu of interest, not under duress, but willingly.

Analysis of the data collected in this respect reveals that 20 out of 30 individuals interviewed are paying an interest upto 2% per month on credits obtained from money lenders. Of these, seven were also noticed to be paying interests on loans obtained from banking institutions. All told, therefore 66.66% of the universe was apparently under the usurious traps of the money lenders.

e) Repayments:

Repayments of loans in rural areas take different forms. This is something which is peculiar to rural India. In urban areas, loans are, by and large, paid back in cash. In villages, however, repayments take various forms and may be made through, apart from cash, transfer of crops, labour or services. Repayments of credits is behind the curse of bonded labour, the exploitative nature of which has been agitating the minds of the emancipated Indians and the government of the country. With a view to bring this reprehensible practice to an end the government enacted in 1976, a legislation for abolition of the system. The legislation, however, does not seem to have had desirable influence in various parts of the country. It must, nevertheless, be hastily added that during this study no evidence of bondage came forth in the two villages.

Repayments of loans made by the villagers in these two villages was studied under four differentiations. These were:-

1. Repayments made by crop for borrowed crops.
2. Repayments made by money for loans of money.
3. Repayments made by performance of manual labour (agricultural or non agricultural) for loans taken.
4. Repayments made by crops for loans taken.

Though, there is a general belief that poorer sections of the rural population often obtain grains on credit and repay in the same medium, none of the interviewed individuals testified to that effect, except one marginal farmer in Kaladwas, who apparently, borrows grains, occasionally, and repays with crops after harvests. An overwhelming majority, i.e. 29 out of 30 or 96.66%, make repayments in cash for borrowed money.

Only two respondents indicated that they were making repayments to moneylenders by way of manual labour. Of these, one each belonged to the two villages of Eklingpura

and Kaladwas. The one in Eklingspura not only repays his loan, taken from a money lender, by way of performing the work of an agricultural labourer in the latter's field, but also pays the interest in the same fashion. Similarly, the other respondent from Kaladwas is making repayments by way of manual labour for want of capacity to pay in cash. Both of these respondents indicated clearly that they are not under any duress from the lender but are rendering this service willingly in return for the credit. They however do not know how long they may have to work in this fashion. On an average they work for approximately 2 to 3 hours a day in a season for a period of 10 days in a month or so. Their families are not involved in this matter and they denied to be bonded in any way.

Only two respondents were found to be making repayments of monetary loans by crops. These were from Eklingspura. There does not seem to be anything peculiar about the arrangement except that the manner of repayment is mutually agreed.

f) Occupation and Indebtedness:

Occupations were broken into three broad categories, viz., cultivation, agricultural or nonagricultural labour and craft or service. Of the thirty respondents of the two villages 24 or 80% had cultivation as their occupation, 2 i.e. 6.66% were agricultural and or non-agricultural labourers and 4 or 13.33% were occupied with various crafts, or service. Eighteen of these respondents were found to be occupied with more than one occupation like cultivation and agricultural or non agricultural labour or a craft. But, all the same, they were found to be indebted. Thus, though 60% of the universe had more than one occupation, yet it was found indebted. Especially, all the five respondents of the tribal hamlet of Kaladwas village were observed to be engaged as non-agricultural labourers in the nearby industries, apart from being occupied in cultivation. Yet all of them were found to be heavily indebted. A large number of respondents seem to have attempted to supplement their incomes by maintaining milch cattle. But, they too were found to be indebted.

g) Land holdings and indebtedness:

The land holdingwise distribution of the universe has been indicated earlier. It would be interesting to see the reasons for indebtedness of each of these four categories. The position will become clear from the following table.

Table-6
Holdingwise purpose of indebtedness

Categories	Total No. Inter- viewed	<u>Consumption</u>		<u>Production</u>		<u>Socio-religious reasons</u>	
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percentage
Landless	5	2	40%	1	20%	2	40%
Marginal Landless	17	7	41.17%	8	47.05%	2	11.76%
Small	6	3	50%	3	50%	-	-
Medium	2	1	50%	-	-	1	50%

It will thus be observed that a majority of marginal and small farmers, taken together primarily get indebted for reasons that are productive. Whereas on the other hand villagers who do not fall in these two categories and are either landless or own lands bigger in size than what small farmers possess, generally incur debts for reasons of consumption and socio-religious obligations. It must however be stated that approximately 44% and 50% of marginal and small farmers, respectively, were also observed to be in debt for dual reasons of production and consumption or production or socio-religious obligation and so on.

h) Family type and indebtedness:

The family type i.e. joint or nuclear, does not appear to have any bearing on the purpose for which debts are incurred. At least, that is what emerges from this study. Samples were

evenly divided i.e. out of 30, 15 had joint families and the other 15 constituted nuclear families. These families, taken together, entered into debts for various reasons, falling in the three categories mentioned above, almost evenly, in equal proportion. The following table will make it clear.

Table-7
Family type-wise distribution of indebtedness showing
purpose

Types of families	Total No. interviewed	<u>Reasons for indebtedness</u>		
		Consumption	Production	Socio-religious obligation
Joint	15	6	6	3
Nuclear	15	7	6	2
Total	30	13	12	5

In addition to the above, three individuals of joint families were found to be in debt for more than one purpose. Eight nuclear families were similarly placed. If these are taken into account, both, nuclear and joint families would seem to be indebted more for productive reasons.

i) Family size, number of earners and indebtedness:

For studying this aspect, the universe was broken into four categories i.e. families having 1-3 members, 4-6 members, 7-9 members and 10-12 members. This differentiation was common for joint as well as nuclear families. Earning capacity being limited, the size of the family apparently, seems to have no bearing on the problem of indebtedness. It was observed that nuclear families with two or three members were indebted along with those nuclear a joint families having 10 to 12 members. In the selected universe of 30, a much larger number had bigger families, of four to nine members. And, they seemed to be indebt primarily for productive purposes, though, they had, apparently taken credits for other two purposes as well. The distribution

of these families, in so far as the purposes for which they were indebted is concerned, is given in the following table.

Table-8
Purpose of indebtedness of families with 4-9 members

Family size	Consumption	Production	Socio-religious obligation	Total
4 to 9 members	8	10	5	23

It may also be mentioned that two more families from this category had taken loans for productive purposes in addition to the loans taken for discharge of socio-religious obligations or for purposes of consumption. Similarly, three more families had taken loans for discharge of socio-religious obligations in addition to the ones taken for purposes of consumption or production.

Number of earners in a family also does not seem to have any influence on indebtedness of families in the rural areas. The study in this aspect was conducted with three variables in view, i.e., families having one earning member, those having two to three earning members and those having more than three such members. It is true that, by and large, a majority of families have lone earners or a couple of them. It was noticed, that out of 30 house holds, 18 had only one and 8 had two earners. Only four had three or more members contributing to the family kitty. But no definite pattern seems to emerge, as even a family of 8 members in Eklingpura having five earners was found to be indebted. Perhaps, this explains the limited incomes and restricted avenues of generating incomes with a view to attain self sufficiency.

j) Age and indebtedness:

To determine the age-wise pattern of indebtedness the universe was broken into three categories i.e. those who are below 30 years, those who are between 30 and 50 years and those who are above 50 years in age. There were 13 in the first category, 10 in the second and 7 in the third. The purposes for which various individuals became indebted is reflected in the following table.

Table-9

Age-wise purpose of debts

Age group	Consum- ption	%	Produ- ction	%	Socio- religious obliga- tion	%	Total	%
Below 30	4	30.76%	7	53.85%	2	15.38%	13	99.99%
30-50 yrs.	4	40%	4	40%	2	20%	10	100%
above 50 years	5	71.42%	1	14.28%	1	14.28%	7	99.98%

From the above table it will be evident that the younger age group, below 30 years, is primarily indebted for a healthy purpose of the productive effort, though the responsibilities for providing for their kith and kin and discharge of obligation towards them take their toll, but in a limited scale. The approach of middle age seems to make them turn to moneylenders more for immediate needs of consumption as well as for the productive effort. Surprisingly, in older age-group, consumption needs demand greater urge to fall back on the moneylenders and need for productive purposes seem to acquire a low priority with advance in age.

2. A few generalised conclusions:

Though, admittedly, it is improper to arrive at any generalised conclusions from such a limited sample, yet, perhaps, it would be worthwhile to attempt to derive such conclusions in the hope that the same would be reflective of the general pattern. Therefore only a few broad findings, categorised in positive and negative aspects are given below:-

a) Positive findings:

- i) The most important finding that comes to light from the study is that the rural folks are now indebted more for productive purposes than for immediate consumption needs or ceremonies of social or religious nature. While consumption need continue to determine the extent of indebtedness the reason last mentioned, assumes the least priority which prompts one to believe that socio-religious rituals seem to be taking a lesser toll of scarce financial resources of the villagers.
- ii) No evidence came forth regarding bondage. An overwhelming majority appear to be making repayments for loans taken in cash. The two samples who, due to their financial incapacity, are making repayments in the shape of manual labour were vehement in their denial of being under any duress to do so. No atrocities have been committed on them and their families have had nothing to do with the moneylenders. Neither they admit of being bonded nor do they show any signs of being so. There are no reasons to disbelieve their assertions.
- iii) Another redeeming feature observed was that a majority of the marginal and small farmers are indebted on account of the productive effort undertaken by them. Of a total of 23 such farmers, 11 were found to be indebted for purposes of production, 10 for consumption and two for needs of socio-religious nature. It may also be added that

four more such farmers, who had taken loans for consumption purposes, had also become indebted for productive purposes. Similarly, 7 of such farmers who had taken loans for consumption or production purposes had also taken loans for socio religious needs. Even then the balance remains in favour of the productive effort.

- iv) Similarly, it was gratifying to observe that the younger generation seemed to be indebted more for their productive effort. Since loans for such purposes are generally taken from rural banks or government or semi-government institutions the borrower is able to get out of the clutches of the usurious rates of interests of the moneylenders. It can only be hoped that this age group, as it advances in years, does not have to turn to money-lenders for unproductive needs.

b) Negative aspects:

- i) The rural banks are yet to make the desired impact though, in so far as loans for productive purposes are concerned, such institutionalised arrangements have helped the villagers. But, due to the general poverty, and other discouraging factors, which will be discussed later, the villagers still have to turn to the moneylenders for satisfying their immediate unproductive needs. Moneylenders have, therefore, even now their strangle hold on the village community.
- ii) Another alarming feature that comes to light is that a very large proportion of people interviewed had obtained credits of over Rs. 2000.00. With the prevailing high prices and low incomes, villagers seem to be getting indebted for a far larger amount than they can possibly repay. Though, most of such heavy borrowing is done from banks or other such institutions, on account of the limited repaying capacity villagers seem to be seeking out the moneylenders for satisfying other needs. The prevailing situation gives the impression of a vicious web.

- iii) Another discouraging feature that came to notice was the ignorance of villagers about the contents of the documents relating to the loans. Though, 20 out of 30 respondents claimed to have executed these documents, yet they were unaware of their contents, including rate of interest, particularly, charged by banks and other institutions. However, villagers seemed to be aware of the interest charged by the moneylenders, but they seemed to be vague about the amounts outstanding against them.
- iv) Another disheartening result of the study is that it reveals a pitiable rural picture, especially in relation to occupation and indebtedness. Despite pursuit of two occupations of cultivation and labour, farmers seem to continue to remain in debt. What is more, evidence has come on record that some of them have even maintained milch cattle to satisfy their consumption needs or to supplement their incomes any yet they are in debt. This is only indicative of widening gap between incomes and needs.

3. General Observations:

Indebtedness in rural India seems to be a fact of life which the villagers are neither prepared nor able to shake off. They think nothing of being indebted and it seems, as it were, a second nature with them. Poverty, illiteracy, inadequate means to earn enough for self-sufficiency, stalks them all through their lives. Added to this are the customs and rituals of a conservative society which take a heavy toll and available scarce resources slip out of their control for ungainful activities. The following case will adequately illustrate the attitudes of the villagers.

Case Study :

Poorra is a 25 year old young man of Eklingpura village. His father, Neraji, who is above 60 years is unable to do much in earning a livelihood. Poorra's is a joint family which has only one earning member, and five others. Poorra's father owns a house and has approximately 2.5 acres of land, which is scattered and is in three pieces. The land yields, according to Poorra, 4 quintals each of wheat and maize a year which is insufficient for consumption of the family. Poorra, therefore, also works as an agricultural labourer on share-cropping basis.

The house which is owned by Poorra's father needed repairs and partial reconstruction. He took a loan of Rs. 2000.00 in two instalments from his friends on a 5 years guarantee for 6/20th of a bigha of land. The crops yielded by this piece of land is to be transferred to the lender till such time as the amount is fully paid. He further took credit of Rs. 3000.00 for purchase of silver at an interest rate of 2% per month. Rs. 1200.00 are still outstanding from the loan taken two to three years back. Another loan obtained by him of Rs. 2000.00 at the time of his marriage at the same rate of interest is still outstanding to the extent of Rs. 400.00. Poorra claims to have spent Rs. 4000.00 in his own marriage.

The interest is mounting up every month on unpaid principals and the interests are getting compounded and he has hardly any resources to generate enough surpluses. On being asked how he would liquidate the debts, Poorra gave a cynical smile and with a shrug of his shoulders said that, after all, he inherited his father's debts and his sons would inherit his. There seemed to be nothing wrong with that. Marriages and deaths need money and that is available only at the moneylenders. One has to get it from there irrespective of hardships that it may cause. After all the self respect of the family has to be maintained.

It is true that, gradually, villagers are taking loans in increasing numbers for productive purposes, but at the same time they do not seem to be self-reliant in satisfying their basic needs. Their extra-vagance in performance of ceremonies, exemplified by Poora, in maintenance of a seemingly false sense of prestige, make them ideal objects for exploitation. With continuous burden of debts, incurred for unproductive social needs, they acquire a cavalier disregard for their pitiful financial plight and, perhaps, prefer not to think about it. Probably, it is because of this indifference they do not think anything at all of interpersonal debts.

Atrocities of moneylenders are rarely heard of. Perhaps these are a disappearing phenomenon. But the case of Bhanwar Lal, one of the respondents in this study deserves mention.

Case Study:

Bhanwar Lal is a 55 year old 'Lakhera', a man who makes lacquer bangles. He is illiterate and has four other members in his family. One of his sons helps him in the business of selling lacquer and glass bangles. He is not a native of Eklingspura. It is because of the atrocities of the 'mahajan' of Daroli, a not too distant village, that he had to leave his family, 25 years back and settle down here, after being chased out by the same 'mahajan' and his gang, from two other villages. Bhanwarlal's father took a loan of Rs. 600.00 from this mahajan around 1953. Subsequently, the father died and his mother paid a few instalments, the entries of which in the credit document were obliterated by the mahajan. The instalments had to be repaid. Then began the harassments. The mahajan went to the court, threatened Bhawarlal with assault, and even got him retrenched from the job he had taken in a neighbouring cement factory. Once, the hoodlums engaged by the mahajan illegally confined Bhanwarlal in a room for approximately 24 hours and forcibly obtained his signatures on some promisory notes with interest of 3 to 4% per month.

Bhanwarlal migrated to Eklingpura and patiently repaid the loan after 23 years. But he paid an amount of about Rs. 10,000/- for a credit of Rs. 600.00. Today he is a poor 'lakhera' who, more often, has to turn back customers for want of materials. He is sick in mind and body and he continues to be in debt.

Nationalised banks and other credit extending institutions have swarmed into the villages for extending credits and emancipating the villagers from clutches of village shylocks. State Bank of India is reported to have even 'adopted' the village of Eklingpura. But these banks and other cooperative institutions provide loans for only productive purposes, like, purchase of pumpsets, digging of well or purchase of cows, buffalows or bullocks. However, to procure these loans, procedures are so formidable, that the poor, simple illiterate villager, is often discouraged. The formalities of obtaining a 'no dues' certificate from more than a dozen banks and the corrupt practices that have emerged, make the moneylenders continue to play their exploitative roles. According to the Sarpanch of Eklingpura, a young man of 30 years who is a law graduate and a practicing lawyer, payment of 5% of the amount of loan as 'speed money' to various functionaries is normal. Others in the village put the figure at 10%. From the Patwari to the clerk in the office of Panchayat Samiti or the bank have to be given offerings. Whatever it is, the simple villagers is not quite able to cope with such 'civilized' norms. The net result is inadequate success of these institutions to rout the moneylenders in their own game.

Besides, these institutions do not and can not provide loans for consumption and social needs, for which, consequently, the villagers have to turn to the moneylenders. Informal borrowing apart, which is considered by the villagers as inconsequential anyway, most of them gradually sink deeper in debt for meeting these needs.

Unless concerted efforts are made to educate the villager in becoming self-sufficient, financially self-reliant, rural India is going to writhe under the weight of indebtedness for decades to come.

ANNEXURE

PA. FORMS OF INTERVIEWERS AND BONDAGE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
INDRAPRASTHA ESTATE, RING ROAD, NEW DELHI.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR VILLAGE STUDY
PATTERNS OF INDEBTEDNESS AND BONDAGE

1. Name:
2. Age: 20-30/30-40/40-50/50-60/60 and above
3. Caste: S/C, S/T, Brahmin/Rajput/Lingayat/Vokkaliga/
Vair/Nambiar
4. Literacy: Illiterate/Primary/Middle/Matriculate
5. Family: Joint/Nuclear
6. Number of Family members: 1-3/4-6/7-9/10-12
7. Number of earning members: 1,2,3,4,5,6,
8. Occupation: Cultivation/agr.labour/non agr. labour
(Services)/artisan/carpenter/blacksmith/mason
9. Assets:
 - (a) Landholding: Nil/Marginal¹/Small²
 - (i) Source from which land acquired
Govt. distribution/Inherited/Purchased/Gifted
(Scheme & Year)
 - (ii) Nature of rights on the holding
owner/tenant/share-cropper
 - (iii) Quality of the holding
cultivable/waste/scattered/consolidated.
 - (b) Animals
 - (i) Cows, buffalows & bullock: 1-2/3-4/5 and above
 - (ii) Goats & lambs: 1-2/3-4/5-6.

(iii) Pig: 1-2/3-4

(iv) Mules: 1-2/3-4

(v) None

~~1. 2.5 acre dry or 1.75 acre irrigated~~

~~2. 5 acre dry or 2.5 acre irrigated~~

c) Agricultural implements: Yes/No

If yes - nature and number

d) House: Owned/tenanted/mortgaged

10. Sources of income:

a) from land: (i) Nature & type of produce

ii) Yield:	paddy.....	quintals	per year
	wheat.....	"	"
	maize.....	"	"
	Jwar.....	"	"
	Bajra.....	"	"
	Pulses.....	"	"
	Oilseeds.....	"	"

iii) Nature of inputs: Chemical Fertilizers/farm
manures/improved seeds/irrigation (?)

b) Average period spent in labour in a year:

ii) nature of labour: agr. labour/casual
labour/daily rated construction labour.

1. Consumption patterns and the way the needs are met:

a) Food: i) Whether deficit : Yes/No

ii) If Yes, how the deficit is met

iii) Expenditure on food p.a.

b) Clothing: Amount spent p.a.

c) house: Amount spent p.a. (on maintenance/rent)

d) Socio-religious functions: amounts spent p.a. on
births/deaths/marriages/festivals

12. Loans:

a) purpose of loan: Consumption/production/socio-
religious functions/for all

b) amount of Loan: Rs.

c) period of loan: Yes

d) when taken : (Time intervals) (i) (ii) (iii) (iv)

e) rate of interest

f) Source of loan: money lender/relatives/friends/
Govt. institutions/cooperative society/rural banks

g) repayment of loans:

crop to crop/ money to money/ manual labour

h) terms and conditions of loan:

- i) whether loan given after execution of documents
- ii) whether the document reflects correct amount of loan
- iii) whether aware of the contents of the document, or not
- iv) whether there are any unwritten conditions attached to the loan, like 'begar'
- v) whether security given for the loan - mortgage of land or assets

13. Relationship between indebtedness and bondage:

- a) i) Indebted : Yes or No
- ii) Bonded : Yes or No

b) Since when:

Year	Indebted/Bonded
..	..

c) When over

Year
------	----	----

14. Nature of bondage:

- a) period of bondage: below 5 Yrs/6-10 Yrs/11-15 Yrs./16-20 Yrs./21-25 Yrs./26-30 Yrs./30 Yrs. and above.
- b) amount of credit:
100-500/501-1000/1001-2000/2001-3000/3001-4000/4001-5000

- c) Whether the individual and/or family bonded
- d) Whether still serving the malik
- e) If yes, terms and conditions:
 - i) getting wages (ii) no. of hours worked per day
 - (iii) Share-cropper (iv) receives food (v) receives clothes
 - (vi) gifts
- f) types of services rendered:
 - i) agricultural labour (ii) domestic help
- g) Caste of creditor
 - i) Brahmin (ii) Rajput (iii) Vaish (iv) SC (v) ST

15. Whether atrocities committed during bondage:

- a) If so, thenature of atrocity
- b) Whether any restriction imposed on movement

16. Whether aware of Bonded Labour System Abolition Act 1976:

- a) Source which gave awareness
- b) If aware, whether still serving the malik
- c) If still serving, why
- d) whether aware of the provisions of the Act:
 - i) regarding freedom from bondage
 - ii) regarding debt extinguishment

- iii) regarding immunity from eviction from
homstead on freedom from bondage
- iv) regarding freedom of property from mortgage
- v) regarding immunity from being compelled to perform
bonded labour

Pattern of Indebtedness and Bonded labour
in Aralamallige Village - Doddaballapur
Taluk - Bangalore District.

(S.N. Bajpe)

Thirty three years after independence we observe today that lakhs of rural young people are exposed to the recruitment machinery of agricultural bondage. They form the lowest segment of the class of agricultural labourers. Though the bonded labour system has been declared illegal, thousands of young people are converted into bonded labourers. This is a perennial process. They forfeit their freedom of seeking other employment, the right to move freely throughout the territory of India and the right to appropriate or sell at market value any of their property or produce of their labour. Like other agricultural labourers they cannot participate in the labour market by freely selling their labour. The principal reason for forfeiting his rights is that he has taken loan from the money-lender-cum-farmer and entered into an agreement that he would work for the farmer until the debt is declared repaid. Till this happens the debtor is under full control of the master. Deviation results in ruthless punishment. A bonded labourer has to function like a slave, he is an inexhaustible source of cheap labour, and in certain regions of the country bonded labour still forms the very basis on which the rural economy is built. It perpetuates itself by constant reproduction of indebtedness. The bonded labourers make the most disciplined and obedient army of the emerging agrarian bourgeois; they can be employed in any area of agricultural operations and as menials in the households.

Deprived of basic human rights, subjected totally to the mercy of land-lords, bereft of bargaining power enjoyed by the urban factory workers, devoid of any property

Contd...2

and themselves being the property of their masters, they seek opportunities to survive for which they are forced to go into bondage for the pittance amount of debts. They subordinate themselves with increasing intensity to the system of exploitation of cheap labour controlled by the money lender-farmer. Social customs or unproductive purposes like festival occasions though constitute main reasons for indebtedness need for the immediate consumption of the agricultural labourers is all important by itself. Their economic situation is characterised by total absence of any assets. Most of them belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

II

This paper intends to study the pattern of indebtedness and bonded labour in one of the selected villages as part of the 'Village Study' sponsored by the I.I.P.A. We selected Aralamalige village of Doddaballapur Taluk, Bangalore District, of Karnataka State, among many other villages, primarily for the reason that a socio-economic study of this village was conducted during the 1961 Census and basic materials required for the study was available. The village is about 5 KMs. from Doddaballapur Town and just about 42 KMs. from Bangalore. With a population of about 1410 it was an ideal middle sized village for the study. The study was conducted for about 10 day's, with other members of the Study-group taking up other allied subjects for their work.

The focus of the Village Study was to collect and analyse empirical data. For the purpose of the study, in view of the short time available, data was collected in the case of about 30 households out of a list of 311 comprising the entire village. In selecting 30 households at random special attention was given to those households belonging to the category of small and marginal farmers

and landless agricultural labourers. Caste composition of the village also was one of the important considerations and we tried to have representation from most castes. The procedure adopted was to interview the heads of the selected households and elicit answers to a set of questions related to the various aspects of the income, consumption, indebtedness, social relations, literacy, family size etc. Where response was found to be lukewarm or appeared to be of doubtful credence, corroborative evidence was sought to be obtained by talking to elders and leaders of the community. The interviews were conducted with the help of interpreters provided by the District, Census and Block authorities who have been of very great assistance to us. It would be worthwhile mentioning here that bonded labour was found to be a thing of the past in this village and our discussion with various people and local authorities including the erstwhile bonded labourers revealed that indebtedness which has continued to flourish has brought about some kind of contract labour which will be discussed below.

III

Aralamallige, a medium sized village of Doddaballapur Taluk of Bangalore District and only 5 KMs. from Doddaballapur town, is situated in a plain country by the side of the Doddaballapur Nelamangala road. Doddaballapur is a flourishing town noted for silk weaving industry for a long time. The industry has made phenomenal progress during the last 30-40 years, the thousands of old handlooms having replaced by power and artificial silk by pure silk. The prosperity of the big town, however, has not been shared by this village which is situated at a walking distance, to any appreciable extent even though the villagers are aware of the possibilities.

Location:

Doddaballapur is situated at 13 °18' North latitude and 77 °26' East longitude and this can be roughly adopted to Aralamallige also. Doddaballapur is towards north-east of Bangalore city at a distance of 42 KMs. and connected by rail and road. Doddaballapur is a railway station on the Bangalore - Guntakal Metregauge line. It is about 915 metres above sea level. A number of administrative and welfare institutions such as Taluk Development Office, Police Station, Registration Office, High Schools, colleges, Banks, Primary Health Centre and a Veterinary Dispensary are located in the town. Aside from being a industrial and commercial centre, it is a place of some cultural importance. The other centre of cultural importance for Aralamallige is Ghati Subrahmanya, 19 KMs. away. For the villagers of Aralamallige, therefore Doddaballapur is all important.

The other important trade centres are Nelamangala, 26 KMs. towards south-west, Tumkur 56 KMs. towards West-north, Gauribidnur 50 KMs. from Aralamallige towards north, where a sugar factory has been installed and is an important commercial centre for marketing sugarcane grown in the village.

Physical Aspects

The village is situated in a region which is open and undulating covering with scrub jungle. It lies within the river basin of Arkavathi. There are no hills in the immediate neighbourhood. Nandidurga is the nearest. The village shares the salubrious climate of Bangalore which is about 25 °C. April and May are the hot months and when summer rains occur during these months, the climate becomes enjoyable, the oppression of the severe heat of the summer being never felt. The

annual rainfall as recorded in Doddaballapur is 762 mms received mainly between May and November. The North East monsoon contributes the maximum. The rainfall is generally favourable for raising a variety of dry crops such as ragi, field-beans, horsegram, oil-seeds etc. The local irrigation tank receives copious supply of water which is used for raising sugarcane, paddy etc.

Flora & Fauna

There is no forest. However, villagers have raised forests of casuarina trees for the purpose of fuel wood on commercial basis. Besides this, trees have grown sporadically near the houses and in Government land. The Department of Highways have grown trees on the either side of the roads in a systematic manner. The vegetation found in the village are, Banyan, Sacred Fig, Indian Bcoah, Coconut, Palm, Margosa, Jack, Weaved leaf fig, Mango, Wild date and Jasmine.

The cultivated crops are ragi, Maize, paddy, millets and different varieties of pulses as well as oil-seeds. Sugarcane is an important cash crop. Casurina plantation are increasing year by year as there is a great demand for fuel which every where fetches a lucrative price.

The village is not rich in fauna. Domestic animals used by the people are cows, bullocks, buffollos, sheep, goats and pigs. Dogs and cats are also found. Puoltry is reared by a few families. Jackals and field rats are found in the fields. Among birds regions, partridge, ducks and eagles are common. Different kinds of snakes and scorpius are also found.

Size number of households and Residential pattern

The area of the revenue village is 1863 acres out of which 10 acres are used as 'Gram thana' or inhabited area.

The village has a hamlet by name Hosahalli which is 6 furlongs away from the main village where there are 20 households of Adikarnatakas. There are 311 households in the village with a population of 1410 comprising 763 males and 647 females (as per a Japanese Field Study published in 1978). The Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe component is around 225. The houses in the village are uniformly spread on either side of a number of streets and lanes. The irrigation tank which covers an area of 462 acres is at the entrance to the village from the north. The residential pattern is generally based on caste. There are however, some streets, where people belonging to different castes live together. The Adikarnatakas and Adidravides (SC & ST) are living in separate localities.

Communication

The village being situated on the main road, communication facilities with other parts of the taluk and district are very good. Nine buses ply in this route every day, eight of which providing direct connection with Bangalore. Lorries ply through the village frequently and it is not difficult to secure the services of a lorry at any time it is required by the villagers.

A post office has been functioning since 1956. The Post Office provides usual facilities including Savings Bank during restricted hours. The nearest telegraph office, public call office and Railway Station are at Doddballapur.

There are 5 temples including the important Chenna Kesava temple. At a distance of about a quarter kilometre from the village towards the north 1.85 acres of Government land is reserved for burial as well as

Contd...7

cremation purposes. There are 33 wells in the village but only 12 are used for drinking purposes. One which is a borwell and is situated near the new colony close to the tank is used by most of the castes including Adikarnatakas and Adidrevida.

The civic needs of the village are looked after by the Panchayat which has Alahalli, Ekasipura, Kuntanahalli, Gollakalli and Jakkasandra besides Aralemathici in its jurisdiction. Metalling of internal roads and construction of drains are the two main items of work undertaken by the Panchayat which has its own building.

There is no market in the village. The nearest weekly market is at Doddaballapur every Thursday.

History

There are no certain records to show the origin of the village but there is a stone inscription in old Kannada in the village temple of Chennakeshava which reads in English as follows:

" Date 1367 A.D." Be it well. When the Mahamandaleshwara, subduer of hostile kings, champion over kings who break their word, Virabukknna Vadevar was ruling the Kingdom of the world (on the date specified), the mahasamantadhipati, champion over the three kings---"

It is clear from this inscription that the village was in existence over 600 years ago. According to a legend popular in the village, the name was derived from "Jasmine blossomed". The legend has it that an offering of Jasmine buds made of silver left by a devotee was found to have blossomed the next morning. Hence the name 'Arala-mallige' - Jasmine-blossomed.

Population and occupation

Aralamallige has a population of 1410 which is divided into 763 males and 647 females. 277 inhabitants belong to Scheduled Castes. There are 311 households, five of which are temporary settled families. The population of Aralamallige in previous census is shown in Table 1. The trend has been a gradual increase upto 1941, sharper increase in the 40's and 50's and gradual increase or stagnancy in the 60's and 70's. As usual in the village population, the Sex ratio of total population is 117.9 males to 100 females in Aralamallige. However, this is higher than the usual in India as a whole. There is some fluctuations in the different age groups for which clear reasons may not be evident. One reason could be the difference in age of marriage for males and females which is on an average 22 and 17 respectively.

There are 16 castes living in the village excepting 4 castes of temporary settlers. The following six out of a total of sixteen, viz. Lingayats, Vokkaligas, Kurubas, Kammaras, Bhajantris and Adikarnatakas are the original inhabitants. They can be grouped into four Lingayats perhaps as priests, Vokkaligas, and Kurubas as cultivators, Kammaras and Bhajantris as artisans and Adikarnatakas as Agricultural labourers. This is typical of most medium size villages in the country. The other 10 jatis viz. Brahmana, Telugu-Banajiga, Uppara, Agasa, Boda, Vadda, Tamil Banajiga, Besta, Marathi, Adidravida came to live in the village later. The time of their coming is not known excepting for Tamil Banajiga and Marathis who came to settle in the 1970's. Population by caste and sex may be seen in Table 2.

Contd..9

One of the characteristics of caste composition of Aralamallige is found in the lack of numerically dominant caste. Of the total 311 households, the larger three jatis, i.e. Kuruba, Vokkaliga and Telugu -Banajiga occupy 64 (20.6%), 59 (19.0%) and 51 (16.4%) respectively. They are the major and powerful castes in the village. Since none of the caste is numerically predominant, the leadership is shared and functions of the village are held across castes and not along caste lines. They form the major group of Agriculturists and even though the total household is only 56% their combined land holding is as much as 72.8%. In addition to these Bedas and Upparas are included into Agricultural group. These two castes are however, inferior in economic and social position. The occupation of Kurubas, Telugu Banajigas and Bedas were not confined to agriculture but included sheep breeding, business and hunting respectively.

Next to agriculturists come artisan and service groups composed of the following nine castes. They are 4 Bhajantri (Barber), 2 Agasa (Washerman), 12 Kammaras (Goldsmith), 11 Vaddas (Stone cutters), 1 Tamil Banajiga, 1 Marathi, 1 Besta, 1 Ediga and 1 Yelavaru households. In all their number is 34, which makes 10.9% of the total households. 1 Bhajantri and 4 Kammaras possess land (Table 3).

The third group is Brahman. Of the 2 households one is a former Patwari (Shanbhogue) and the other the School master. Socially this is the highest caste.

The next group is that of Lingayat of whom there are 10 households. Two of them are merchants and the rest agriculturists. Their place in the social heirarchy is next to Brahamins.

The fifth group is the Scheduled Castes to which Adi Karnatakas and Adidravidas belong. There are

39 Adi Karnatakas and one Adidravidas house-holds comprising 12.9% of the total households.

The last group of Government workers consists of Jain, Mudaliar and Telugu Barajiga castes.

Occupation:

Of the total population of 1410, 514 persons which includes 29 females have a main occupation. As per 1971 Census however, the total number of males and female workers was 496 and 141 respectively.

Agriculture provides the major source of main occupation. It absorbs 308 self-employed workers and 132 employees (agriculture labourers) the shares of which to the total numbers of main occupation holders amount to as much as 85.6%. The village is basically an agricultural settlement in spite of performing certain central functions.

There are 4 land owners in the village who lease out their owned land to other farmers. Almost all landowners are engaged in agriculture. The number of land holding households are 207. On an average to each land-holding household there are attached 1.5 persons whose main occupation is self-employed workers in agriculture. This figure is low, even if the smallness of their cultivating land size is taken into consideration. It leads them to hire agricultural labourers for supplementation to their family labour force. There are a large number of farmers who entirely depend on labourers for their farm operations. Such labour force is supplied by mainly Adikarnataka and Adidravida households apart from those belonging to the upper caste workers whose main occupation is agriculture. Even the land owning Adikarnataka families have to work for these farmers owing to the small size and harshness of the owned land, in some cases given by the Government.

Agricultural labourers have the share of 25.7% of the total main occupation holders. In addition to this high component, there are a large number of persons whose subsidiary occupations are agricultural labour. The village has big potential agricultural labour force which has resulted from the labour intensive nature of agriculture and free participation of all the landless caste members to hired agricultural work.

There are 74 villages who follow non-agricultural jobs as their main occupations, which are further divided into 35 self-employed and 39 employed. The former mainly consists of 24 artisans and 11 merchants of various kinds. Many of them have a wider service area than the village.

IV.

'Bonded Labour' system was prevalent in the districts of Karnataka as far back as 1877 as seen from various records kept in the Revenue Department. Mention of 'Alus' or 'Honalus', local terms for 'labourer', who were no better than slaves, are found in those records. These labourers were part of the estates belonging to the landlords of higher castes, in which they were born and part of the private property of the owner unconnected with the land. The records of the early 20th century show that in Malnad Taluks the entire families of Holeyar community were constituted the slave labour force of their masters. The usual maintenance consisting of rice and annual grant of some clothing was all that they got in return. Such kind of exploitation and suppression continued and gradual improvement in their condition seems to have taken place as a result of the progressive measures taken by Government from time to time.

The system of bonded labour stands abolished from quite a long time in the Karnataka State as a result of administrative orders passed during the pre-independence period. The Act of 1976 has made bonded labour illegal. Government has been taking various measures and implementing schemes for the amelioration of the dismal condition of the rural poor who constitute the major portion of the cheap agricultural labour.

The practice of agricultural labourers borrowing money from the landlords and binding themselves on their words to work off the loans or in lieu of interest if the amount borrowed is heavy, is prevalent even now in almost all parts of the State. These labourers are regarded as attached or contract labourers and not as bonded labourers. Under this system the labourer usually prefers to be fed and clothed through out the year (eg; Ugadi festival to the next Ugadi) in addition to being provided with perquisites like pan, bidi etc. as agreed upon and about Rs.100 to Rs.200 as cash wages payable in one or more instalments or to be adjusted towards the loans raised and the interest accrued thereon. Some labourers prefer to be paid entirely in cash or in the form of grains in addition to some cash, and take their food in their own houses. In either case the labourer has to work from dawn to dusk in the farm of his master. At the end of the year or a couple of years when the loan is cleared he may choose a different master willing to pay more or may work as a casual labourer. The labourer works for a master who belongs to his own or a higher caste. For both the categories of labourers, the term 'Jeethadalu' is applied in several areas of the Karnataka State.

In the village Aralamallige in accordance with the information supplied by the Block Development Officer, 12 bonded labourers were identified in 1977. The figures for the other villages in the group Panchayat jurisdiction were

as follows:

Alahalli	-	2
S.M. Gokahalli	-	2
Ekasipura	-	4
Jakkasandra	-	9
Kuntanahalli	-	1

Five of the twelve erstwhile bonded labourers interviewed have testified to the fact that they are no longer bonded. The incidence of recurring indebtedness with one landlord money lender or more is however prevalent. In this context, therefore, the study will have to be confined to "The Pattern of indebtedness" rather than "The Pattern of indebtedness and bonded labour". The result of interviewing the 30 families is therefore analysed in the following paras in the light of the above.

V

Caste-wise distribution of households engaged in agricultural labour and those included in the sample of 30 households are given in Table 5. The percentage of households engaged in agricultural labour is 40%. Taking 4 persons on an average per household, the total number of dependent persons on agricultural labour is 500. Therefore, the percentage of number of persons dependent on agricultural labour out of a total of 1410 is 35%.

According to 1961 Census, 58 households were dependent on this occupation having 280 members. Total population in 1961 was 1282. The percentage of those dependent persons on agricultural labour works out to 22%.

In 1971 about 70 households were engaged in this activity. However, number of dependent persons is not available. Thus over a period of 20 years, while the population has gone up from 1282 to 1410, those dependent on agriculture, has gone up from 280 to 500. The population increase is roughly 20% while the increase in those dependent on agricultural labour is 80%. In the

normal circumstances this deviation would have been excessive. However, here the displacement from cultivator to agricultural labour is obvious but excessive increase can be explained by the fact that the rain fall has been decreasing for the last 4 years progressively and this year as a result of scanty rain the source of irrigation water, viz. the village tank is completely empty, rendering most marginal and small farmers helpless.

Monthly income and caste-wise distribution of households engaged in agricultural labour is given in Table 6. The caste-wise distribution of literacy giving its break-up of school going children among those of school going age is given in Table 7.

Of the 30 households interviewed 15 were found to be indebted to the extent ranging from Rs.170/- to Rs.2000/- totalling to Rs.8470/-. It will be seen that, while social occasions and consumptions needs composed major part of the total loans taken, agriculture and other productive activities have been insignificant. The loans were taken mainly from the land lords for whom the labourers worked. In most of the cases no interest was paid directly but in cases where interest was paid the rate was as high as 18% to 24%. The most common form of repayment was adjustment of against future wages.

An analysis of the personal assets revealed that 15 households out of the 30 owned land of various measures (mainly marginal) 5 out of which allotted by Government; 17 households owned houses, 13 of which pacca and 5 huts; 6 households owned cattle; 1 household had radio and 2 households had sewing machines.

Table 8 and Table 9 show Income and caste wise distribution of households engaged in Agricultural labour and distribution of literacy. It is observed that the moment the child is 15 years old or so, he or she is engaged in agricultural labour. Hence, it is clear that even among those children of school going age there are dropouts. Among

those children of school-going age and not going to school, the number of girls is very large. Percentage of expenditure under various heads in a household having an income of Rs.175/- per month is given in the following table:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Food	122.50	70%
Clothing	17.50	10%
Beverages	24.50	14%
Smoking	8.75	5%
* Others	1.75	1%

* Others above meant mainly liquor. Even though most of the households could not afford liquor, generally liquor was being consumed by many.

For Aralimallige the advantage of being in the vicinity of an industrial town like Doddaballapur and not being very far from the metropolitan city of Bangalore are many. As a perceptive elder resident observed, Aralimallige was 14 annas in a rupee (or 87%) part of Doddaballapur because for anything and everything most villagers rush to that town. In the social sphere, in tune with the spirit of the time the spirit of democratic principles regulate their activities in the matter of intercaste harmony and unity in common culture and religious interest. The level of social awareness with regard to certain social enactments like untouchability offences Act and Abolition of Bonded Labour Act is laudable. It is also creditable that people who were treated as untouchables years ago are no longer treated as such. In the economic sphere, however the assistance and guidance which could have been derived from public institutions like village Panchayat and Cooperative society and Cooperative Milk Society have not been commensurate with the needs of the situation. It appears that instances of financing and implementation of development schemes have been rather tardy. The world of modern technology and knowledge has blown over Aralamallige which can be seen in the

increased use of improved implements, increasing number of irrigation wells, use of high yield variety of seeds, chemical fertilisers resulting in intensive farming and bringing under sugarcane cultivation, a larger area of irrigated land and use of improved technique in manufacturing

Since the inception of the new Block of Doddaballapur in 1958 the following developmental programmes have been undertaken for improving the lot of the rural poor in Aralamallige. Four School Buildings have been constructed; 3 drinking water wells were dug, 5 KMs of mud road was built; 1 Youth Club and one Village Panchayat Hall were constructed; drainage was provided for the village; 112 sites were distributed; 20 houses under HUDCO scheme were sanctioned of which 15 were given to Harizans and 5 to others; under the S.F.D.A. scheme 2 cows worth Rs.5000/- were distributed; 21 loans totalling Rs.22,400/- were granted to marginal farmers and 26 loans totalling Rs.25,200/- were sanctioned to small farmers. However, no loan was granted to any of the 55 agricultural labourer households. No work has been executed under the "Food For Work" programme in the village. Under the 'Employment Affirmation Scheme' even though an estimated cost of Rs.5000/- was to be incurred on the improvement of a road, only an amount of Rs.525/- was spent.

The potential of the Milk Society which has a membership of 327 has not been fully exploited as can be seen from the fact that the average sale per day is only 45 litres and the number of small and marginal farmers and Agricultural labourers utilising the facility is only 9, 8 and 13 respectively. The rearsness of Doddaballapur and Bangalore both of which are connected by direct routes has not been taken advantage of by many households to rear cows and buffaloes for supplying milk. While Aralamallige provides employment to a large number of labourers for other villages, the number of villages from Aralamallige taking up jobs in the powerlooms etc. in Doddaballapur has not increased

appreciably over the years. Division by sex in Aralamallige

It is seen from the analysis that only 50% of the interviewed households have admitted of indebtedness. From our enquiries it has been found that there may be more people who must be taking loans for various purposes and from different sources. It has been possible for large and small farmers to obtain loans from banks as they are in a position to mortgage their property. Well to do farmers have been taking loans for improving their land and acquiring irrigation facilities like wells and using electricity for lifting water from the wells. Hence loans taken by such farmers usually used for productive purposes and despite the fact that the rains failed this year and the tank is dry; they have been able to raise crops like paddy sugarcane, Maize etc. The category of villagers who have been hard hit by the lack of rains this year are agricultural labourers with no land and to some extent small and marginal farmers whose only possessions are small tracts of dry land.

As has been seen above small and marginal cultivators have made substantial use of the S.F.D.A. Scheme of loan grants for various purposes. Landless labourers however have not derived much benefit as neither loans have been given to them nor they have been able to accept the land given to them by the Government.

Conclusion

In Aralamallige, the problem to be tackled is not 'Bonded Labour' but that of indebtedness of the landless agricultural labourers and to some extent small and marginal cultivators. While the small and marginal farmers belonging to the higher castes are able to hold their own even with loans obtained from various sources, urgent measures are required to be taken by Government by providing alternative sources of financing to landless agricultural labourers of all communities and particularly those belonging to the Scheduled Castes. A programme for imparting training in handicrafts can be undertaken so that these labourers

can augment their income during off season. This can be achieved by introducing a special delivery system for production and consumption loans to agricultural labour. A programme of alternative employment should have priority to cover the entire class of agricultural labourers. This has been the policy of the Government and should continue to be followed.

To sum up the following measures in the order of priorities may be taken:-

1. A special credit-delivery system for short-term production and consumption loans to agricultural labour.
 2. A programme of alternative sources of employment or self-employment for agricultural labour.
 3. A programme of literacy and education for the children of agricultural labourers along with repeated conscientization camps for agricultural labour.
 4. A programme of economic rehabilitation through resource grants.
-

Changes of population by sex in Aralamallige

Year	Total	Male	Female
1901	634	316	318
1911	631	320	311
1921	680	367	313
1931	770	405	365
1941	809	430	379
1951	1010	539	471
1961	1300	670	630
1971	1436	764	672
1978	1410	763	647

Table 2
Population by caste and sex

Caste	No. of households	Total	Male	Female
Brahman	2	5	3	2
Lingayat	10	48	27	21
Vokkaliga	59	277	141	136
Telugu Banajiga	52	249	139	110
Kurba	64	285	153	132
Kammara	12	50	27	23
Uppara	12	50	27	23
Bhajantri	4	23	16	7
Agasa	2	2	1	1
Beda	32	153	83	70
Vadda	11	48	29	19
Tamil Banajiga	1	5	3	2
Bestha	1	1	1	0
Marachi	1	5	3	2
Adi-Karnataka	39	173	94	79
Adi-Drauida	5	18	7	11
<u>Contemporary settlers.</u>				
Jain	1	7	4	3
Mudaliar	1	2	0	2
Ediga	1	1	1	0
Yelavaru	1	3	1	2
Telugu Banajiga	1	3	1	2
		311	1410	763 647

	Area	Percentage
Cultivated land	1084.0	52.2
Garden	92.6	5.0
Wet land	320.1	17.2
Dry land	671.4	36.6
Non-agricultural land	544.4	29.2
Uncultivable land	235.1	12.6
Total:	1863.6	100.0

Table 4

Harvested areas of principal crops in Aralamallige (acres)
1977-78

Paddy	86.1
Maize	171.0
Magi	295.3
Haraka	1.0
Sorghum	2.3
Field beans	-
Horse gram	12.2
Red gram	-
Vegetables	17.9
Flowers	1.4
Sweet Potato	-
Mustard	1.0
Sugarcane	110.9
Arecanut	-
Coconut	15.1
Mulberry	-
Plantation	3.0
Casuarina	121.3
Eucalyptus	-
	838.5

Table 5

Caste-wise distribution of households engaged in agricultural labour and those in the sample of 30 households.

Caste	No. of households engaged in agri. labour.	No. of households actually interviewed.	Population of column 3.		
1	2	3	4		
			Male	Female	Total
Vokhaliga	3	3	6	6	12
Banajiga	4	3	5	3	8
Kuruba	21	5	9	6	15
Bhajartri	-	-	-	-	-
Vanda	5	-	-	-	-
Bada	26	7	16	14	30
Agasa	-	-	-	-	-
Uppera	9	2	2	5	8
Brahmana	-	-	-	-	-
Kammara	5	1	5	1	6
Adikarnataka	4	9	16	17	33
Alidrevida	3	-	-	-	-
Resta	-	-	-	-	-
Marathi	1	-	-	-	-
Lingayat	-	-	-	-	-
	125	30	60	52	112

Rs	
170	1
200	3
300	4
400	1
500	2
800	1
1000	1
1300	1
2000	1
	<u>15</u>

Table 7

Sl.No.	Purpose of loan	No. of house-holds	Total Amount.	Percentage
1	Marriage	5	Rs 2800	33%
2	Agriculture	3	Rs 670	9%
3	Illness	2	Rs 600	7.5%
4	Consumption	4	Rs 3100	36%
5	Cattle rearing	1	Rs 1300	15%
		<u>15</u>	<u>Rs 8470</u>	<u>100%</u>

Table 8

Income and Castewise distribution of households engaged in agricultural labour.

Caste	No. of families.	Income					
		upto Rs100	Rs100-150	150-200	Rs200-250	250-300	300-400
Vokhaliga	3	1	-	-	2	-	-
Banajiga	3	1	-	1	-	1	-
Kuruba	5	-	4	1	-	-	-
Boda	7	1	3	-	-	1	2
Uppara	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
Kammara	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Adikarnataka	9	1	3	4	-	1	-
Total	30	5	11	7	2	3	2

Table 9

L i t e r a c y

Caste	Literate	Illiterate	No. of children of school going age	No. of children actually going.
Vokhaliga	2	1	1	1
Banajiga	2	1	1	-
Kuruba	2	3	2	2
Uppara	1	1	1	-
Boda	1	6	4	2
Kammara	1	-	1	1
Adikarnataka	1	5	4	1
	<u>10</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>7</u>

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

VILLAGE STUDY

Jhanjhari - Karnal District - Haryana.

"Pattern of Indebtedness and Bondage"

by

R. D. ARYA

PATTERN OF INDEBTEDNESS AND BONDAGE.

The phenomenon of indebtedness and bondage cannot be studied in isolation. A proper analysis would have to look at the land, the labour and the credit relations as a whole, along with the underlying process of agricultural production. Since the time at our disposal was rather limited, comprehensive understanding of the problem may perhaps be found wanting.

2. It was initially intended to collect the data during field work on the basis of a structured questionnaire but after a familiarisation round of the village, this idea was dropped. It may be emphasised here that canvassing of structured questionnaires, even when pretested, is not necessarily the best method of collecting data in studies of this nature. This is partly because the categories and concepts which are xx real for most of us either in our daily lives or professional work, sometimes just do not operate in rural context. No amount of pretesting and revision of questionnaires can altogether eliminate this distance in culture and experience. As such there is always the danger of imposing categories which are not valid, of taking pictures through a distorted lens. Partly this is also due to the fact that much of the required information has to do with relations and structures which need not necessarily be captured or discovered in schedules of responses to pre-arranged questions. The best way out is perhaps to simply dig in the village and observe - with a check list at the back of one's mind. This is what was adopted. Informal discussion rather than chat was done with various cross sections of the villagers belonging to all the castes - individually as well as in groups. This approach made the villagers feel at ease and information was spontaneous. The above description of method indicates some limitations of the present study. These limitations were to some extent unavoidable given the constraints under which work had to be done, the most severe being that of time.

3. Jhanjhari - a village in District Karnal has a total of 212 households; about 100 households belong to scheduled castes (Balmiki, Chamars, Dehs) and 35 belong to backward classes like Lohars, Jheevars and Gadariyas. There are 70 households of Rors (Rajput), 7 of Brahmins and 5 of Khatris.

4. Chamars and Balmikis stay on the outskirts of the main village which is on the right side of Sher Shah Suri Marg (Karnal to Ambala) whereas Dehs stay, across the road, in Jhanjhari Chhoti. It is very interesting to note that none of these three castes own any cultivable land. The only land they own is the one on which each family has built their ~~kha~~ kacha or pucca houses. All houses belonging to Dehs are kacha ones.

-2-

5. In Chamars, only a couple of families deal in hides/skins. They do not make new shoes. The older generation is mostly uneducated and is engaged as agricultural labour for which men are paid at the rate of Rs.7-8 per day whereas women are paid @ Rs.5-6 per day. Sometimes they are also paid in kind. They do not get any food during harvesting. All of them own houses; about half of them pucca houses. Almost all houses have electricity. Some of the Chamars own milch cattle, mostly for their own use, but a few of them do sell milk. About 15 Chamars are employed outside the village; mostly daily wage workers like Peons, linemen, etc. A few of the Chamars who work outside also own cycles. Three of them are engaged in share cropping. The income thus earned by them is hardly sufficient for 2 square meals a day. They do not spend much on festivals. They have a dowry system which forces them into debt. Expenditure on marriages is as high as Rs.5,000/-.

6. Balmikis work as scavengers in the village and some of them do work outside as sweepers to earn their living. They also work as agricultural labourers - mostly seasonal. The wages are the same as in the case of Chamars. All of them own houses - a few are pucca ones. Only some of the houses do not have electricity. Those who are engaged outside the village are a happier lot as they earn more than those who stay in the village. They too have a dowry system. It is not possible for them to save money for marriages. Hence they too are driven to indebtedness because of this system.

7. Dehs who stay across the road make Chhajs and sell them @ Rs.4 to Rs.6 per Chhaj. Womenfolk make them whereas menfolk go from village to village to sell them and earn their living. Average income of a family is around Rs.200-300. per month. This leaves them with no scope to have any savings. They also have dowry system like Chamars and Balmikis. For obvious reasons they too have to borrow money to celebrate the marriages of their children. The expenditure is around Rs.5000 for a marriage.

8. Balmikis, Dehs and Chamars constitute an unhappy lot with miseries writ on their faces. They have reservation of jobs but never get selected. They feel that once reserved jobs are given to them, they will be able to earn more, pay off their debts and be never in debt again.

9. Gadariyas and Lohars who are equally poor (belonging to backward classes) do not have even reservation of jobs. In fact one of them lost a job the day the MLA who had helped him get a job lost in the elections. Losing a job drove him to indebtedness.

10. Brahmins are comparatively a better lot as most of them serve outside the village and generally do not need to borrow money. Some of the Rors who are not as lucky as other persons in the community, are marginal farmers only. Expenditure on marriages etc. is higher in Rors than in other castes. Hence they too have to indulge in borrowing money for such contingencies.

Deficit households and debt:

11. In the course of interviewing various cross sections of all the castes, specially of scheduled castes and backward classes, it was found that the final income expenditure balance indicated in most cases not even break-even condition. Taking such a broad view we may only say that such households are by and large on the verge of subsistence, sometimes reducing their consumption to even less than for mere living. Any unforeseen expenditure like marriage etc. forces them into debt. For a marginal farmer, given his limited size of holding, low cropping intensity and low productivity, he can produce only a part of his grain requirement. The remainder has to be purchased in the market alongwith other essential consumer items such as clothes and also in some cases certain production inputs. In order to make such purchases, he needs cash. For this, he may again be selling his labour. And if he is unable to find such alternative source of income, he must ultimately search for loans. This is precisely the situation in Jhanjhari.

12. Bondage is a specific aspect of the structure of agrarian relations as they exist today. For this purpose, it is useful to start with an identification of three basic segments of the rural society, maliks or employers who basically derive their livelihood from the employment and exploitation of labour, mazdoors who basically sell their labour and kisans who basically derive their livelihood from self cultivation based on family labour.

13. Confronted with the survival of an archaic form of the capital-labour relationship, a question immediately poses itself as to why the labourer accepts a contract of bondage - because his household is chronically a deficit household. Given chronic deficit of the average household, it is evident that he is hopelessly dependent on debt. And it is precisely such dependence on debt which provides the malik with the necessary control he requires to impose on the mazdoors his contract of bondage.

14. In majority of the cases studied, the immediate cause of taking loans is expenditure on marriages. The household being deficit even under normal conditions, any additional expenditure drives them into indebtedness. And an event like marriage is ideal. This event is sufficiently important to incur large expenses even at the cost of life long bondage/indebtedness. Social needs and customs among

-4-

them require a certain minimum of festive expenditure to mark the occasion. And so it is that on the very day that he begins to share a new life of love and companionship with his wife, the newly married mazdoor or his father also enters a life of bondage and misery. The next important purpose for which loans are taken is normal consumption. Clearly social education aimed at reducing non-essential expenses in such ceremonies would help mitigate the situation somewhat. However, it is important not to overplay the role of this factor.

15. The amount of loan in most of the cases varied from Rs.500 to Rs.5000. The amount of money spent on marriages is as high as Rs.2000 to Rs.5000. There are comparatively well to do Chamars/Balmikis/Dehs who extend small loans within their own caste. Jats do not give loans to Scheduled Castes. Why to talk of loan, Jats do not let them sit on their cots. An outcaste is offered a chair rather than a cot. This is more prevalent in the older generation. The younger generation attends a common school and play together. Perhaps the future holds better promises to them. Looking back the last 33 years of independence, there is not much change in the lot of these poor people.

16. Loan is usually taken from the Baniya or Mahajan in the Karnal town and the rate of interest is as high as 2% per month. Those who have more sons are sure to pay off their loans when their sons grow up, i.e. the sons will start their life with loan. Those who have more daughters will perhaps get into higher debts. That is why there is more and more tendency for the villagers to get jobs elsewhere at higher remuneration so that they are able to repay the loans. For most of them, repayment of loan is a perpetual Democle's sword. They have literally to half starve to repay the same. In fact it was no use asking them if they spent any amount of money on new clothes. They seemed to be contented with the old rags worn by them.

17. In the entire village, only one case of bonded labour could be located. It was very difficult to locate Shri Phulu Ram (the bonded labour) as he appeared to be busy all the time in the fields of his master - Ch. Shiv Ram (A Minister in the Haryana Cabinet). Ch. Shiv Ram is a very big landlord of the village. He is the only one owning a gobar gas plant, a T.V. set, a car, a telephone, etc. There was a pucca road leading to his house. It was easier to contact Smt. Dhanpati, wife of Shri Phulu Ram. Both of them were informally interviewed separately. Both say they are 50 years old, but Shri Phulu Ram looks older than that. The respondent was employed in the Public Health Department in Ludhiana some 15 years ago when he fell sick. Since he had no one to look after him in Ludhiana, he resigned the job and came back to the village. Ever since, he has been working with the master. 10-11 years

ago he had the first loan of Rs.1000/- from his master to marry one of his nine daughters. As on date the loan is about Rs.5000/- Rs.6000. He was not sure of the amount. Every year he puts his thumb impression on a piece of paper. He is not aware what it contains. By virtue of his labour, he is paid about Rs.1800 every year. He is to eke out his living with his wife and 4 unmarried daughters who also work in the field during the season. He is not paid cash but the amount is adjusted towards the cereals he takes from his master for his family and also the small amounts of money that he needs for miscellaneous requirements. He is doubtful if any amount is credited towards the repayment of the loan. He is aware of the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act of February 9, 1976. According to him he has expressed twice to his master to be relieved of the debt but apparently with no results. He is resigned to his fate. He appears to be a lost person. There were tears in his eyes when he mentioned that he almost works 20 hours/day for his master but the return is very inadequate. His eyesight has deteriorated and he seemed to be a physical wreck.

18. The full sleeve woollen pullover worn by him belonged to one of his sons-in-law. He does not expect any respite in his life time. He has one redeeming hope that since he doesn't have a son, the debt cannot be carried forward for his daughters to repay. He is unable to leave his master and find job elsewhere at higher wages. First he cannot get more than what he is being paid now and secondly he expects similar treatment anywhere else. It is doubtful if he can get a job elsewhere because of his physical condition. He has yet to celebrate marriages of four daughters. So there he remains bonded as ever, under the archaic and harsh circumstances. Were he to break the contract, it may well mean that he may gain the freedom to starve. And for the experienced halik like Ch. Shiv Ram this is really the most valued security.

19. There are also fixed term bonded labourers. They are paid a fixed amount not exceeding Rs.1800 per annum either in advance or in parts for working as farm labourers. There are 4 such cases in Jhanjhari. Even though they are aware of the Minimum Wages Act, they are unable to do anything.

Credit and Service Society Ltd.

20. There is a Credit and Service Society in Jhanjhari and it caters to the needs of 4 villages - Dadunur, Jhanjhari Beni Khurd and Benikalan. Any person more than 18 years of age and mentally sound can become a member of the Society. Membership on date is 502 against 490 last year. One share of Rs.10/- has to be purchased to become a member of the Society. An additional rupee has to be paid towards administrative charges. Loans can be given to Agriculturists as well as non-agriculturists but a deposit of 10% of the loan amount

has to be made with the society. This deposit does not earn any interest.

21. Agriculturists are granted crop loan @ Rs.200 per acre plus Rs.100 in kind as fertiliser. Rate of interest is 11% if repaid in 6 months otherwise it is 13%.

22. Non-agriculturists can get loan not exceeding Rs.1000 and artisans can get loan not exceeding Rs.2000 for purchase of machinery/raw material against 2 sureties. These loans are also to be repaid in 6 months but the rate of interest is 21%.

23. Consumption loans are also given for marriages, house repairs, purchase of wheat, hospitalisation, but the amount does not exceed Rs.300 and it is to be repaid in 3 years times. Defaulters are denied loan again. On date during the current year 275 persons have taken advance - 225 agriculturists and 50 non-agriculturists. Any woman can also take loan provided she owns land. Mortgage loan is not given. During the last 10 years, there have been 35 cases of non-repayment out of which 12 are agriculturists and 24 non-agriculturists and the amount of loan varies from Rs.500 to Rs.1500. Court cases are in progress. Every year about Rs.3.25 lakhs are disbursed as loan but the amount realised in time is about Rs.3 lakhs.

The policy package:

24. A special credit delivery system for production and consumption loans to agricultural labour and large scale programme of alternative employment for such labour should have priority as the main components of policy directed at curbing the incidence of bondage/indebtedness. It is evident that the ramifications of such a policy extend well beyond the set of labourers who are presently bonded/indebted, to cover a target group consisting of the class of agricultural labourers as a whole. This is as it should be.

25. The following measures are suggested:

- (i) A large scale programme of alternative sources of employment or self-employment for agricultural labour;
- (ii) A programme of literacy and education for the children of agricultural labour alongwith repeated conscientisation camps for them;
- (iii) A programme of economic rehabilitation through resource grants to identified bonded/indebted labourers.

ASPIRATIONS

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
(1980-81)

VILLAGE STUDY

"ASPIRATIONS OF VILLAGERS"

by

S.K. Bhatnagar

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI.

For Study of a Kerala Village by Sixth
Advanced Professional Programme in Public Administration
participants from Indian Institute of Public Administration,
New Delhi. Village Nemom was selected by Kerala State
Government and Trivandrum District Authorities in consul-
tation with I.I.P.A.

The objective of the study was to provide greater
understanding of the pattern of life of the rural poor that
is those who own meagre resources either by way of physical
assets or skills and have inadequate access to development
opportunities and, or who do not own any productive assets
and are unskilled or semiskilled and/or those constituting
socially backward group.

The methodology for this study was survey techni-
que coupled with case study.

The study group consisted of 8 participants
each of whom studied a particular aspect of village life.

Village Nemom is located on a hilly terrain,
typical of Kerala, along the bank of a small river called
Karmana.

It has an area of 7268 Acres and a population
57,105 (Estimate for 1981).

The village is well connected with other parts
of Kerala on National Highway 47 (connecting Trivandrum and
Kanyakumari) as also the Railway Line from Trivandrum to

Kanyakumari pass through it and it has a railway station of its own.

The Village being within the urban fringe of Trivandrum, displayed sub-urban as well as rural characteristics. It has several schools and colleges (including a woman college and a Agriculture college), Hospitals/dispensaries, Post and Telegraph Office, Electricity, Water and Telephone Connections, good roads, well developed market village and Panchayat Offices, Ration shops, Banks, Cooperative Societies, Cinema, Studios, Reading Rooms-cum-Community Centres and a large number of Pucca Houses - modern, fashionable - built in style and very colourful indeed. It has an industrial Estate and even a C.S.I.R. regional research Laboratory. The Semi-urban and richer section of the village is concentrated along the National Highway whereas rural portion lies further behind and extends on the slopy hillside right down to the Back water filling the narrow village.

The village is non-nuclear - linear life typical of Kerala. The hutments lie scattered each located within its 'centres of Coconut Plantation. The main crops grown in Nemom Village are Coconut, Banana, Tapioca, and Paddy.

The irrigation is provided by the branches of Nair Dam Canal System and by tank and well irrigation. Wells are very common and almost all farmers have their own well.

Improved seeds and Fertilisers and technical advice by Extensive officers are easily available.

Village Nemom is predominantly a Nair Village. Although there are half a dozen communities, including Muslims and Christians, all of them seem to be living peacefully in apparent harmony.

The Village has two Panchayats -

- (i) Nemom Panchayat
- (ii) Kellyoor Panchayat.

Of these Nemom Panchayat was selected for further study.

Nemom Panchayat has 11 wards. Its panchayat committee consists of 11 members. Almost all major communities are represented in the panchayat. The majority is of C.P. (M.) party. The population of Nemom Panchayat shows the following community wise breakup,

Nairs	40%
Nadar	20%
Muslim	10%
Harijan	10%
Erzwa	5%
Others	15%

It has a well organised social life and a number of voluntary social organizations including a Mahila Samaj, Arts and Sports Club and Yuva Jan Samaj serve it well.

Political parties appear to be quite active and influential.

Radios and Transisters are quite common but the most interesting part is the Library movement making reading rooms facility available a plenty. Almost entire population is literate and Malayalam Newspapers are read widely.

Of the 11 wards of Nemom Panchayat. One ward each was selected by the three subgroups of the Study Team. Ward No.2 Pannumangalam ward was selected by the subgroup studying Perception and Aspiration of Villagers.

As aspirations are largely based on perception of individuals the same sample was selected for studying both the aspects.

In view of time factor and other constraints the study was then confined to socio-economic survey of Pannumangalam ward of Nemom from a point of view of eliciting the aspiration of villagers in general and rural poor in particular.

Pannumanglam ward was selected for study in consultation with the Block and Panchayat Levels Officers who considered ^{that} the ward represented the socio-economic conditions in the rural areas of Kerala in general and Trivandrum District in particular. The study had to be completed within 10 days therefore it was decided to that primary data on socio-economic conditions should be collected in respect of 30 households

by interviewing some of the members of these households.

Punnumanglam

The ward has 565 households. It has a population 5484

(including 2681 males and 2803 females as per 1971 Census).

Nairs are 40% and Harijan are 10%. Most of the landed gentry is from Nairs who are the leading community. Most of the landless labourer are Harijans. The Pulloyas and Thendur are the main Harijan communities. Muslims are more than 10% but Christians are only 3%.

The households were visited at random in such a way that the sample includes rich, middle class as well as poor peasants, and landless labourers. It was also kept in mind that all communities are included in more or less the same proportion as is reflected in the community distribution of the panchayat. Some weightages was given to the socially and economically backward section by including a larger proportion of poorer section - marginal farmers/ and landless labourers and Harijans (particularly Pulloyas).

Besides the time limit of 10 days, there were other barriers in conducting the study. One was Language and necessity of communicating through interpreter. This made the exercise time consuming. As the standard of English of even the interpreter was not very good we were not always sure whether proper communication has taken place and the answers received were many times vague generalisations. As our interpreter was a Dy. Tehsildar his presence also appeared

to inhibit free communication. In fact in case of richer farmers - Ex-Government Servant, it appeared to us that they were understating their income and property and were reluctant to express themselves freely even about their perception and aspirations. The poorer people appeared to be more forthright and truthful.

The sample shows the following social and economic pattern

<u>Community</u>	<u>Households</u>
Nairs	9
Muslims	4
Pullaya	6
Thandar	2
Christain	1
Erzva	3
Asari	1
Nadar	4

2. Land ownership Pattern:

	<u>Land area owned</u>	<u>Households</u>
I	2 acres to 9 acres	4
II	1 acre - 1.9 acres	5
III	.5 acre to .9 acre	2
IV	Less than .5 acre	19

3. Incomewise Pattern

<u>Income per annum</u>	<u>Households</u>
Rs. 5000-18000	7
Rs. 2500-4999	8
Rs. 1500-2499	5
Less than 1500	10

4. Age-wise Pattern

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number</u>
60 years or more	6
40-59 years	11
30-39 years	7
20-30 years	6

5. Educationwise Pattern

<u>Extent of Education</u>	<u>Number</u>
1. Graduates	2
2. S.S.L.C./Metric/ 10th Standard	6
3. III to IX	19
4. Illiterate	3

6. Professionwise Pattern

1. Farmer	9 (Including in Service/ retired/employee who are doing farming also)
2. Businessmen	4
3. Labourers	17

The question regarding aspiration were asked after their perception had been ascertained, and were specifically directed towards eliciting their hopes and expectations with reference to -

- (i) Family
- (ii) Village-society;
- (iii) Expectation from Government regarding the area and its people.

The responses were surprisingly very similar the same more or less - irrespective of caste and community, Landownership pattern, Income, Profession or Education.

Since most of the poor people in the village were underemployed and the spectre of unemployment of the children haunted eve. the relatively better off all, without exception talked of the problem of unemployment and need to solve it by setting up of small/cottage industries. Perhaps the fact that 90% of the population was literate and newspaper were read widely. in almost in all the households and listening to Radio/transister was common, the aspiration tended to be influenced by the coverage of the mass media. The extent of similarity of answer/ ^{were of} such a high order that propaganda by political parties if not exactly indoctrination, could also be responsible for it.

It was also surprising that inspite of a number of voluntary social organizations and high literacy rates

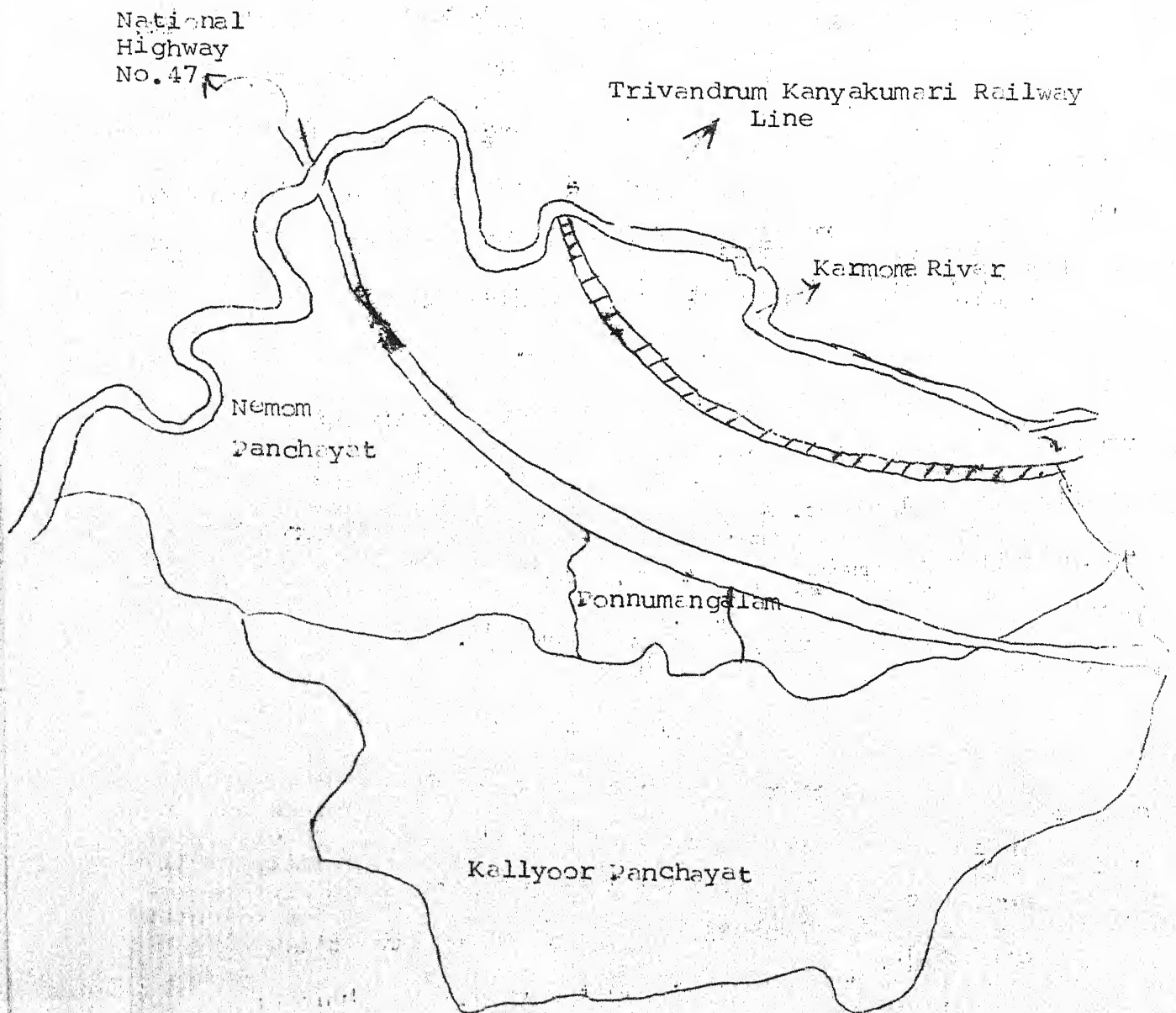
social aspiration were rather of low order. In fact from their perception of social change, particularly in respect of Inter caste relationship and the extent of sanskritisation already achieved, satisfaction level seemed to be rather high on this count and the desire or aspiration for higher caste status did not appear to be there. (In fact only one person on Asani mentioned about it).

The major concern of the poor being to somehow manage to have two square meals a day it is not surprising that aspiration were limited to acquire of basic necessities of life., by securing full employment for themselves and hoping for employment of the children.

The common aspiration was that Government should set up and /or help set up industry so that people of the area may easily get employment. Again most of the people aspired that their children may be better off themselves but the perspective was limited to ^{hoping that} them/the children may be Government servants - clerks, teacher or nurses.

The Kerala village - even the poorer among them seem to be better off than their counterparts in ^{other} part of India but inspite of the high literacy percentage and easy access to mass media the horizon is of necessity still confined to ^{making} both ends meet and the need for voluntary social reform seems to be very great.

Map of Nemom Village showing Nemom
Panchayat and Poonumangalam Ward.



Sl. No.	Name	Caste	Age (years)	Education	Occupation	Land	Income	Family	Aspiration
1.	K.M.V. Pillai	Nair	63	S.S.L.C.	Teacher & Farmer	4	9000	Joint	(1) Govt. Service for children (2) Industry for the area
2.	Karunakaran	Pulaya	27	VII	Labourer	3C	1000	Nuclear	(1) Full employment for self (2) Cottage Industry for the area.
3.	Jenardhanan	Pulaya	34	VI	"	2	1000	"	"
4.	Kuttan Pillai	Nair	60	IV	shopkeeper	5C	1200	"	(1) Employment for children (2) Industry for the area
5.	Vatsala Kumari	"	32	X	Farming	1A 49C	4000	"	(1) Son may be Doctor daughter may be employed Industry for the area. (2)
6.	M. Dhugan	Thandiar	60	Nil	Coconut Plucker	4 1/2 C	1800	"	(1) Employment for children (2) Completing house (3) Coconut business (4) Industry for the area
7.	Lerle Yedhan Pillai	Nair	62	VII	Farmer	2	3400	Joint	(1) Investment in business. (2) Son to be teacher, daughter Doctor Industry for the area. (3)
8.	Suvarna Kumari	Christian	27	IX	Housewife	1 1/2 C	2400	Nuclear	(1) Government Job for children. (2) To buy property (3) Industry for area.
9.	Jome Late Chellappan	Erzva	53	VI	"	1A 28C	3600	Joint	(1) To improve living condition (2) Industry for the area.
10.	Appu Kuttan	"	50	IV	Weaver	3 1/2 C	1500	Nuclear	(1) Son to be teacher (2) Industry for the area
11.	Mohammed Sali	Muslim	52	V	Watchman	88C	9000	Joint	(1) Employment for sons (2) Investment in Agriculture (3) Industry for the area.
12.	Kuttan	Pulaya	45	V	Labourer	1 1/2 C	800	Nuclear	(1) Son to be teacher (2) Full employment for self. (3) Industry for the area.
13.	Sukumaran	"	38	III	"	"	"	"	(1) Daughter to be nurse. (2) Full employment for self Industry for the area. (3)
14.	Chashi Dharen	"	33	X	"	5C	"	"	(1) Son to be clerk (2) Industry for the area.
15.	Chelleppan Pillai	"	83	Nil	"	Nil	4200	Joint	(1) Government Job for grand children (2) Govt. should reduce cost of things and increase employment.
16.	R. Krishnan	Erzva	57	X	Farmer and Millowner	7A	4800	"	(1) To setup industry (2) To build another house (3) Govt. should establish industry.
17.	Madhusudhan	"	28	B.Com	Rubber Plantation owner and business	3A	1800	"	(1) Bigger business (2) Industry for the area.
18.	Thangappan	Nair	44	VIII	Labourer	1 1/2 C	3000	"	(1) Jobs for children (2) Govt. loan for agriculture (3) Industry for area.

contd..

Sl. No.	Name	Caste	Age	Education	Occupation	Land	Income	Family	Aspiration
19.	Rajan	Asari	34	S.S.L.C.	Furniture manufacturer and seller	60	3900	Jain	(1) To improve social status (2) To help society (3) Industry for the area.
20.	M. Kumaran	Nair	58	V	Defdar	1 1/2 A	9000	Nuclear	(1) Tukka House (2) More dry land (3) Industry for area.
21.	Krishnan	Nadar	46	V	Cattle	100	2000	"	(1) Dairy should not be there (2) Service for children (3) Industry for the area.
22.	Shiva Nand	"	40	X	Milk	170	9300	"	(1) Reservation for Nadars should be increased (2) Industry for the area. (3) Govt. should give financial assistance to poor
23.	Abdul Salam	Muslim	30	B.A.	Bank Clerk	260	7560	"	(1) P.W.D. type wing for panchayat. (2) Factory for the area. (3) Employment for children.
24.	Abdul Ganil	Muslim	75	Nil	Poultry selling	50	2500	"	(1) To increase business (2) Industry for the area.
25.	Mohammed Ganil	"	25	VI	"	30	3000	"	(1) Employment for children. (2) Govt. should help poor
26.	Suvarna Kumari	Nair	45	VIII	Farming	250	3000	"	(1) Govt. service for children (2) To purchase land (3) Employment for all.
27.	Chandir Kumari Amona	"	50	IV	Farming	12	7000	"	(1) To look after family properly (2) Govt. should help poor.
28.	K. Rona Karen	Pullaya	35	V	Labourer	50	1000	"	(1) Employment for children (2) Industry for the area.
29.	Krishnan	Nadar	40	VII	"	100	1500	"	(1) Govt. should give loan for (2) Constructing house (3) purchasing animals (4) Govt. should solve food problem.
30.	M. Dhavan	Thandar	54	VII	"	30	2400	"	(1) Small scale/cottage industry should be set up.

Vith APPPA Course

VILLAGE STUDY

(J HANU HARI, KARNAL DISTT. HARYANA)

ASPIRATION (SMALL FARMERS AND LANDLESS LABOUR)

ARUN KUMAR

Aspiration (Small Formers/Landless labour)

This village study was conducted by a group of 8 participants from the 6th APPPA Course of the IIPA, under various headings. This paper pertains to " Aspirations".

The village selected for the study is called Jhamjhari which lies in Karnal District, on the G.T. Road (Shershah Suri Marg), 8 Km. from the Distt. H.Q. on the way to Ambala. It is a part of Nilekheri Block, and is 6 Km. from the Block H.Q. The nucleus village is Shamgarh, 2 Km. away.

The village has very fertile lands, and are fully irrigated by Canal and tube-wells. It has 212 households with a total population of 1278, and is a multi-caste village. The layout is on the caste lines, with the caste lowest in hierarchy (Dehs) staying on the western side of the village, while the rest of castes including Harijans (Valmikis as well as chamars) stay in the main hamlet on the eastern side.

Bulk of the population is engaged in Agriculture, though a number of people have taken jobs in the city, as well as in govt. departments, in and outside the city. The village has no tenants or Bataidars, and all the lands are managed by the farmers themselves. There are a few exceptions, where the close relations of some landholders, who have jobs, may be managing the lands jointly. Although there are no surplus lands as per records, it is not unlikely that many benami lands are held by big landlords.

The main crops are wheat, rice and sugarcane, though gram is grown as a legume, and a few people grow vegetables and pulses, but these are grown mainly for their own consumption. There is no poultry worth a name, but all the farmers and a bulk of landless workers have one or more heads of cattle.

The village has only a primary school attended by 116 children. Those continuing the studies further, have to go to Uchana $1\frac{1}{2}$ Km. away, or Shamgarh. There is co-operative credit society which covers 3 other villages also and a veterinary centre. There is no medical facility, Post office or Bank in the village.

The village is entirely a Hindu-village, but has no temple. Though there are claims of tolerance between lower and upper castes, the caste hierarchy is strictly observed. To study the aspirations of small farmers and landless labour of the above village random interviews were conducted within each stratum. The subject of study would normally exclude the artisans, though they are landless, but are not providing labour for agricultural operations. However some of them, as well as some larger farmers were interviewed to complete the picture, and obtain some information which the members of selected groups would not volunteer. In addition participants' observations were also duly made use of.

In selection of small farmers, it became necessary to define the small farmers. As seen from the land-records, it was found that total number of holdings in the village are 119, of these, 32 holdings are below 2.5 acres, 20 from 2.5 to 5 acres, 55 from 5 to 10 acres and 12 holdings over 10 acres. Again, though the land records reveal the above position, in fact a number of holdings were cultivated together. The problem therefore poses itself, whether the holding of certain minimum acreage seen from the land records should be treated as a small holding, or the holdings of all

the members of a household should be taken together and treated as a single holding?. The latter was a difficult proposition, since it was extremely difficult to find out the real position viz whether the members have separated out and live in nuclear families as claimed by them, or whether they have a common kitchen. Secondly, even when several brothers are staying together and cultivating their lands together, and thereby saving on household and land-management overheads, their net total income will be more or less the same, which divided into so many shares, should form the basis of their being deemed as small or larger farmers. The latter argument can of course be taken too far where even a single holding has a large family to support, thereby bringing down the per-capita income of the family. Hence it was considered sufficient for the purpose of this study, to accept the individual holdings, as per land records as the basis for the farmer to be considered as a small or large. Individuals having less than 5 acres were therefore included in the study of their aspirations. However no authentic information was available on the agricultural holdings of these individuals, if any outside the village Jhanjhari. Hence we have proceeded on the assumption that no such holdings exist.

Methodology

In the study, reference was made to the basic data, viz the holdings, which are given in table I below:

Table - I

<u>Holdings</u> <u>Size</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
0 - 2.5 acres	32	26.88
2.5 - 5 acres	20	16.80
5 - 10 acres	55	46.20
More than 10 acres	12	10.10
Total:	119	99.98

The average strength of a household has been seen to be slightly above 6. At the current prices a per-capita income of Rs.300/-, or Rs.3600/- per household, would be considered below poverty line. Net income from 1 acre of holding in this village all lands being fully irrigated, was worked out to be Rs.2500/-. Thus a farmer having $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land or less, would be below poverty line. Since income of each farmer is further supplemented by the cattle, we may accept the farmer of such a holding as a marginal farmer. A holding below 5 acres, was therefore deemed to be a small holding 5 - 10 acres as medium and above 10 acres as large. Income from a 5 acre holding would be approximately Rs.12,000 per year on an average, at current prices. It may also be seen from the table that these holdings together comprise only about 44% of total number of holdings, and only 22.5% total cultivable land in the village.

The other group, viz the landless worker were studied as a separate group. These are by & large the Harijans (Valmiki and others) and artisans, Lohars (Khatris) and Dehs, donot work as labour, though they own no cultivable lands at all. Only a few Rors, who are the dominant class in the village are landless and work as labour. The total number of labour force falling in the above group was estimated to be 85 belonging to about 50 families. Only a handful of them are permanent, labourers. The wage of permanent labourers was given in the vicinity of Rs.150/-p.m.

(or Rs.1800/- per year). However, many people are now employed in Govt. departments, mostly Canals or Electricity, either on permanent jobs or as daily wage workers. They may of course participate in the harvesting operations. Hence they were not excluded from the scope of this study. Besides, other members of the family may be working as land-labourers.

At first a general reconnaissance of the village was conducted along with the sarpanch, Panchayat Inspector of the Block and a few members of the village, and discussions of general nature conducted by the entire group in order to prepare their strategy.

In studying the aspirations in a limited time, it was decided to limit the scope by choosing certain areas only.

Haryana state has made spectacular progress in last 15 years, especially in the field of agriculture. In any development oriented situation, it is but natural that the maximum benefits go to the individuals who are in a better position to take advantage of the opportunities that offer themselves, that means those who are already better off, such as big landowners, educated, and those having higher socio-economic status. This is bound to increase the disparities between the higher and the lower strata, which can be reduced only if the lot of the lower strata is improved. The incentives, extension work and other programmes can have desired effect, only if the lower stratum sets itself such a goal, or in other words "have a goal-orientation," as Muthayya has stated in his book. Aspirations of an individual are his conception of his future prospects, and secondly the level of aspiration is a form of self motivation.

Thus it was intended to study, whether the development of the state - which presupposes the development in this village as well - has percolated down to these target - groups sufficiently to raise their aspirations, and what is the level of their aspirations.

During preliminary discussions it became obvious that every person wishes for improvement in his income, status and basic necessities. But the extent of their aspirations could be evaluated from their individual goal setting for themselves, and their children.

To make an estimation of their aspirations, following eight areas were therefore selected, for each of the two groups:

- i) Land holding - and aspiration for improvement in present state of affairs.
- ii) House - - do -
- iii) Cattle - - do -
- iv) Shed for Cattle - -do-
- v) Furniture and household articles - -do-
- vi) Education for children
- vii) Job for children.
- viii) Village-facilities and aspiration for improvement.

A questionnaire was developed, all the questions of which were open ended. However, a few alternatives were offered in some questions when no answers were forthcoming. This of course made them as leading questions, and respondents would tend to give "safe" answers. The questions included those intended to elicit personal information also. The study was confined to a total of 22 respondents, of this, 3 were not from the categories under study, but information volunteered was used partly to build up the background and partly as supplementary information of the samples selected. 10 belong to landless labour category and the rest 9 are small farmers.

the members of a household should be taken together and treated as a unit.

In view of the size of the village and total number of households falling in each category, the sample was considered adequate within each stratum. The samples were considered fairly representative, although no scientific method could be used in view of the non-availability of either a systematic numbering or any other aid to facilitate the same. The time factor further constrained such an approach. Moreover, the fact that a number of landholders were staying in the same house, was a further constraint, since it was considered desirable to record only one interview if there were more individuals than one from the same "groupholding" or same family in case of landless labour. This, it was felt, would avoid duplication.

While conducting the interviews, attempt was made to use the ladder tests to determine the level of aspirations. However, the predominance of illiterate and persons with very low level of education, made the use of such a scale very difficult. Hence the use of this test was dropped and instead the answer were recorded in 5 categories, viz very low, low, average, high and very high and allotting one point for the lowest level and 5 for the highest. '0' score was awarded for responses, suggesting total absence of aspirations. No negative reply was come across during the study. Those who didnot respond to a particular question were recorded as N.R. as also those, in whose case the question was not relevant.

Treatment of Data; and Interpretation:-

The Data collected was arranged according to the subject of question and the frequency of responses recorded under each level (0-5) and the percentage worked out (Tables - II & III).

It is true that the sample selected for this study is too small for a proper statistical treatment, nor is the sample scientifically selected. However, the samples have been treated as representative and the distribution was assumed to be normal, especially in view of the universe itself being very small. Hence the percentage represent the percentage for each group under a given area (subject of question). Next, the weighted mean was worked out for the entire group for each-area, and then the mean for the entire aspiration rating, allotting equal weightage to each area. Under each group, as well as overall, a rating of 3 or less has been interpreted as low, 3 as average and above 3 as high.

Next the standard deviation was worked out and recorded in the same Tables. (II & III).

Table - II

Level of Aspiration : Small Farmers

Area of Aspirations:	Frequency					% in brackets)		NR	Mean	Standard & Deviation
	(levels)	1	2	3	4	5				
1. Land Holding		1 (11)	-	5 (55.6)	3 (33.3)	-		-	3.1	.762
2. Heads of Cattle		1 (11)	-	5 (55.6)	3 (33.3)	-		-	3.1	.762
3. House		1 (11)	-	7 (78)	1 (11)	-		-	2.9	.791
4. Shed of Cattle		1 (11)	3 (33.3)	4 (44.5)	-	-		-	2.1	.504
5. Furniture & household articles		1 (11)	2 (22)	3 (33.3)	3 (33.3)	-		-	2.9	.791
6. Education for Children		1 (11)	1 (11)	6 (67)	1 (11)	-		-	2.8	.772
7. Job for Children		-	2 (22)	6 (67)	1 (11)	-		-	2.9	.791
8. Facilities for village		1 (11)	1 (11)	5 (55.6)	2 (22)	-		-	2.9	.791

Overall Mean = 2.84

Table - III

Level of Aspirations - Landless Labour - according to area

Frequency (% in brackets)

Area	Levels of Aspiration	0	1	2	3	4	5	NR	Mean	S.D.
1. Land holding		-	2 (20)	5 (50)	2 (20)	1 (10)	-	-	2.2	.5
2. Heads of Cattle		-	2 (20)	2 (20)	6 (60)	-	-	-	2.2	.4
3. House		-	-	3 (30)	6 (60)	-	-	-	2.4	.2
4. Shed for Cattle		-	4 (40)	3 (30)	1 (10)	-	-	2 (20)	1.62	.5
5. Furniture and other household articles		-	2 (20)	4 (40)	4 (40)	-	-	-	2.2	.4
6. Education for Children		-	-	3 (30)	3 (30)	2 (20)	1 (10)	1 (10)	3.1	.7
7. Job for Children		-	1 (10)	-	4 (40)	3 (30)	1 (10)	1 (10)	3.3	.8
8. Village facilities		-	-	3 (30)	7 (70)	-	-	-	2.7	.2

Overall mean = $\frac{2.47}{5}$
 S.D. = $\frac{.510}{5}$

the members of a household should be taken into account

On the whole, it was concluded that the level of overall aspirations of both the groups are on the low side, weighted mean for the 8 areas being below 3, which is the average level on the scale selected. Of the two groups, the aspirations of landless labour (LL) are lower than those in the category of small farmers (SF).

In case of SF, aspirations on an average are seen to be better than average for having better Land holding and heads of cattle. They are slightly below average in all areas except "sheds for cattle".

In case of L.L., the only areas having a mean score of more than 3, are education for children, and jobs for children, and the poorest in the area of "Shed for Cattle". If we were to discount this aspect for both the categories, the overall mean will be very close to average for the S.F., and would improve marginally to 2.6 from 2.5 in the case of L.L. The explanation for the finding regarding children may be that in the case of L.L., they perceive their salvation only, in getting permanent jobs, preferably with govt. department, for which education is considered a pre-requisite and useful. This is borne out also by the statement of a number of L.L., that the labour has too many days without employment and that they have to relentlessly importune the Landlord for employment. However, both the categories seem to have aspirations for educational jobs for children, as the χ^2 test shows. (Table VII & IX). Secondly, the only other means of improvement devolve upon their getting some land, which they would want but are very uncertain of such a prospect. Infact, it was learnt, that the only lands declared surplus and allotted to some LL, found their way back to the Landlords, as Benami holdings. This may be for two reasons. Firstly the higher caste landlords were unwilling to allow a low caste to have the status of a land-holder, and secondly, the age-old attachment of the farmer to the land. Moreover, even when land is sold, it is sold to someone within the caste-group and never to a lower caste. Therefore, for raising their socio-economic status, this route is not available to them, unless some lands are allotted to them. The ruling price of lands in the village (Rs. 30000 to 40,000 per acre); in any case rules out outright purchase of lands.

From the tables II and III it may be further seen that the level of aspiration of higher land holdings in the case of SF as well as the cattle is the same at 3.1. Similar is the response within LL also. Thus it was inferred that there exists a high degree of correlation between land holding and aspirations in these areas as may be seen from Table IV & V below.

Table IV

Aspirations for improvement in Land holding

	Small farmer	Landless Labour
High (3 or above)	8	3
Low (Below 3)	1	7
Total:	9	10

$$\chi^2 = 6.7387$$

Level of significance 1%.

Hence there is a very high correlation between the high aspirations for improvement in land holding and the status as an existing land holder,

Table V

Aspiration for improvement in Cattle ownership

	<u>Small Farmer</u>	<u>Landless Labour</u>
High (3 and above)	8	6
Low (below 3)	1	4

$$X^2 = 2.548$$

Level of Significance = 10%

Table - VI

Aspiration for improvement in the dwelling House

	<u>Landowner (Small farmer)</u>	<u>Landless Labour</u>
High	8	6
Low	1	4
Total	9	10

$$X^2 = 2.548$$

Level of Significance = 10%

Hence in this case also, there is an adequate positive relationship between the aspiration and status as landowner.

Table - VII

Aspiration for Furniture etc.

	<u>Landowner (small farmer)</u>	<u>Landless Labour</u>
High	6	4
Low	3	6
Total	9	10

$$X^2 = 1.35$$

It may be concluded that there is no significant correlation between aspirations for household articles and the landowning status.

Table - VIII

Aspiration for Education of Children Frequency

Level of Aspiration	Landowners (Small farmers)	Landless Labour
1) High (above 3)	7	7
2) Low (below 3)	2	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
total	9	10

$$\chi^2 = 0.1477.$$

Hence there is not a perceptible correlation between the desire for education and the status as landholder.

Table - IX

Aspiration for Jobs for Children

	Landowners (Small farmers)	Landless Labour
High	7	9
Low	2	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9	10

$$\chi^2 = 0.798.$$

This would indicate that both categories desire jobs for their children and this aspiration is not related to their landowning status.

Table - X

Facilities for the village

	Landowners (S.F.)	Landless
High	7	7
Low	2	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9	10

$$\chi^2 = 0.147$$

Here again, this aspiration is independent of their landowning status.

Next, Table gives the rating for aspiration according to age group separately for SF and LL. It is noticed that level of aspiration is average for below in 18-25 group, and very low in groups above 60, both among SF and the LL. In 26-40 age group and 40-60 age group aspiration score is average to high among SF, but low to average among LL.

Thus, for all the groups below 60, there was not much difference noticed in level of aspiration of LL, whereas in all groups below 60, the aspiration were the highest among the 26-40 age group of the small farmers.

Table - XI

<u>Aspiration group</u>	<u>Age-groupwise Levels of Aspiration (Overall)</u>			
	<u>Age groups</u>			
	10-25	26-40	41-60	over 60
Small Farmers	2.5	3.3	3	1.5
Landless labour	2.5	2.5	2.7	1.5

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that, although overall aspirations of both the groups under study are below average, there does exist a correlation between the overall aspirations and the status as landholder in many areas. Although no correlation was seen to be in education for children and jobs for them the mean level of aspirations are higher among the LL than the SF. It may also be stated that the landholders have a higher socio-economic status. Thus the very same correlation can be stated to exist between the socio-economic status and the aspirations, taken for the groups as a whole.

This leads one to the conclusion that inspite of the spectacular development of the state taking its total income as well as per capita income to new peaks, the lot of the economically backward has not improved in the same proportion. The discussions held with the medium and larger farmers, whose aspirations though not a part of the study, can serve as useful indicators. To quote a few examples the larger farmers indicated their desire to improve their landholdings, buying Tractors, having their own Tube-wells, purchase of a scooter or motorcycle, a piece of land in the city etc. The poorer farmers on the other hand, had much more modest goal. These goals may be relativistically set, in view of their present economic conditions, and they are unwilling to discuss anything beyond the immediate future. This would indicate overall low aspirations, which in turn would not motivate them to adequate positive action towards self-improvement. Such a state of affairs could have resulted from their not having sufficient support from the governmental agencies on a sustained basis. It therefore calls for a change in strategy, which would not only protect them against the onslaught of their powerful adversary, but also assist them in improving their economic condition and setting new targets which should be seen by them as achievable. Without a perceptible improvement in a short span of time, it is unlikely that their aspiration can be made to rise to a level above average, and consequently the desired amelioration brought about.

However a problem at this stage would present itself, if the correlation between the aspiration and land-holder's status is regarded as the only solution. There is not enough land for the landless. Even if land is parcelled out to everyone, the same constraints would apply, their holdings being small, and the rise in aspiration can only be marginal.

If the corollary of this inter-correlation is next considered, the socio-economic status of both the categories being lower, it would be reasonable to expect that their aspirations in terms of goal-orientation would improve with improvement in their socio-economic status. Economic status could be improved by providing more alternative jobs, larger number of days of employment where permanent jobs are not possible. However, since the social status is only partially dependant on economic status, and the caste considerations

still rule as a major factor in our villages, only a drastic change in attitudes, particularly among the higher castes can bring about this desirable change.

It may be stated in conclusion, that if the village studied by the group is a typical village in what is now a developed state, the task ahead of the powers that be is a stupendous one.

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- 1) BC Muthayya - Farmers and their Aspirations.
- 2) Durganand Sinha - Motivation and Rural Development.
- 3) Goode and Hatt - Methods in social Research.

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INTERCASTE RELATIONS

VILLAGE STUDY REPORT

Subject : **INTER-CASTE RELATIONS**

A study of Eklingpura and Kaladwas Villages

Block : Girwa

District : Udaipur, Rajasthan

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DECEMBER 1980

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI

Sixth Advanced Professional Programme in Public Administration

VILLAGE STUDY

As a part of the above programme, a team of seven members, with Dr. B.M. Varma of the IIPA as Supervisor, conducted a socio-economic study of two villages - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - in the Girwa Block of Udaipur District in Rajasthan for two weeks from December 1, 1980. The members of the team and the subjects of their study are given below:-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Subjects</u>
1. Shri P.K. Bagchi	Pattern of indebtedness and bondage.
2. Shri P.U.C. Chowdary	Inter-Caste relations.
3. Shri L.R. Julka	Condition of agricultural labour.
4. Shri D.C. Mishra	Perception of development & change.
5. Shri V.K. Seth	Consumption Pattern.
6. Shri M.P. Vasudeva	Cropping and input use pattern.
7. Miss R. Vijayalakshmi	Status of women.

The broad framework of the report is as under:-

- Part-I. Carries a brief description of Udaipur District, the Girwa Block and the two villages of Eklingpura and Kaladwas. It also explains the reasons for selection of these two villages for the above study. This portion has been prepared jointly by the study team from the information collected, as well as that supplied by the District Administration.
- Part-II Gives a general introduction of the specific subject of study, the objectives and the methodology followed.
- Part-III Presents an analysis of the data collected and the conclusions of the member concerned.
- Part-IV Contains supporting annexures.

The members of the study team are grateful to the officials of the District Administration of Udaipur, who extended the necessary assistance and co-operation in all possible manner to enable the team to conduct a meaningful study. The members also place on record their deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Varma, who, besides being a source of inspiration, rendered valuable guidance all through.

New Delhi
December 20, 1980.


Signature.

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- PART I a) Profile of the district, block and the villages.
- b) Why these two villages were selected for study ?
- c) Salient features of the villages.
- PART II Objectives of the Study and the Methodology adopted.
- PART III Analysis of Data and Conclusions -
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 - b) Land-holdings and occupational Mobility.
 - c) Caste in various institutions.
 - d) Caste and living habits - dress, food and marriage.
 - e) Inter-caste Relations
 - i) Physical aspects -
housing pattern, drinking water arrangements; schools; medical facilities; chopal or chowra and temples.
 - ii) Occupational relations.
 - iii) Social interaction-
visits, borrowing and inter-dining.
 - iv) Festivals and Rituals.
 - v) Leadership.
 - f) Position of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
 - g) Is there a change in outlook ?
- case studies.
 - h) Summary and conclusions.
- PART IV Annexures.
- a) Details of persons interviewed.
 - b) Caste-wise break-up of members of Gram Panchayat.
 - c) Caste composition of a sample organisation -
Sastri Nava Yuvak Mandal.

PART I

PROFILE OF THE DISTRICT, FLOCK AND THE VILLAGES

Hallowed by the heroic battles fought by Maharana Pratap against Akbar's mighty Mughal forces, Mewar, the Kingdom of Sisodia Rajputs, occupies a unique place in the Indian History. Udaipur, founded in the year 1567 by Maharana Uday Singh, was the last of the capitals of the State of Mewar.

Thoughts of the desert seem a mirage in the serene coolness of the lake-borne city of Udaipur. Cupped with soft-green hills, the opiate beauty of this city is like a joyous miracle in the dusty, wind-blown heat of Rajasthan. Still evoking the rich sensibilities of a royal lineage, long gone by, the dreamy city of Udaipur is unique in its elusive, feminine quality amongst the masculine citadels of Rajasthan. Shimmering and twinkling, the lakes of Pichola, Fateh Sagar, Swaroop Sagar and Uday Sagar give the city its haunting beauty.

Historically famous and culturally rich, the present district of Udaipur abounds with a number of interesting places. Haldighati, where a valiant battle was fought by Rana Pratap, riding his gallant horse, Chetak, is in this district. Nathdwara, where the great temple of Srinathji enshrines a unique monolithic black-stone image of Sri Krishna, is only forty-eight kilometres north of Udaipur. The Eklingji temple, on the shores of a lake, houses the presiding deity of the Ranas of Mewar.

Situated around 75° longitude and 24° latitude, in the South-western part of Rajasthan, Udaipur district is dotted with green, lofty and mineral-rich Aravalli ranges. Endowed with a temperate and healthy climate, the district has seventeen tehsils, divided into eighteen blocks.

The district is predominantly rural, with 3,116 villages and 92 per cent of the population living in villages. The ancient tribe of Bhils, also known as Gamethis, whose close association with the Ranas of Mewar was symbolised in the emblem of that State, constitute a sizable one-third of the population of the district. Latest estimates put the total population of the district at 2.4 million.

Agriculture forms the backbone of the district with two-thirds of the population making a living out of it. Due to the hilly terrain, the area is rocky and uneven, with very low water table. The rainfall is also scanty, averaging around 630 mms. The rural economy, which has to sustain itself through agriculture, is adversely affected by the vagaries of nature. The rainfall is often quite untimely and erratic. The district is also drought-prone and has been famine-stricken for the last four years continuously, causing damage to the economic equilibrium.

The farmers in the district have to put forth more than average efforts to eke out a living. Man-made distortions and fragmentation of land have also contributed to the situation. The district, with predominantly small land holdings, has a total area of two million hectares of which only 18 per cent is cultivated. The area under more than one crop constitutes only 43 per cent of the cultivated area. Nearly three-fourths of the holdings are under three hectares, while holdings below one hectare account for half of the cultivated area.

The principal crop is maize, which is evident from the famous slogan in the area - "Gehoon Chodna Makki Khana, Mewar Chodkar Kahin na Jana". Other important crops are wheat, barley, gram and pulses. Foodgrains account for 85 per cent and Oil-seeds for 8 per cent of the total area under cultivation.

The district has been declared by the Government as an industrially-backward area. However, a few large and medium scale industries have sprung up in and around Udaipur city. These include the Hindustan Zinc Limited, J&K Tyres Ltd., Pesticides India Ltd., Udaipur Cotton Mills, etc. While there are 731 units in the small-scale sector, cottage and household industries number about 11,500. The employment potential of these industrial units works out to a meagre 6 per cent of the total work force available in the district.

The Block:

The Girwa Panchayat Samiti is contiguous to Udaipur City. The

Samiti consists of 161 villages and 35 Gram Panchayats. The population of the Samiti is 2.34 lakhs out of which 56,000 belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Out of a total area of 1.31 lakh hectares, only 0.25 lakh hectares are cultivable. The land holdings are also small with 85 per cent of the total holdings being under three hectares.

The Samiti is thus fairly representative of the district with regard to the occupational patterns, area under cultivation, land holdings, distribution of population, etc.

The Villages under Focus:

Two adjacent villages, Eklingpura and Kaladwas, along with a third village Manwakhera, form part of the Gram Panchayat of Kaladwas. The two villages selected for study - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - are about a kilometre apart from each other and lie on the Udaipur-Jhamar Kotra Road and are about seven and ten kilometres respectively from the district headquarters of Udaipur.

Both these villages were established around 1450 AD. The Bhils, who were natives of the area, were displaced by the Dangis, the farmers' community. Originally known as Rohiad Pura, the village Eklingpura obtained its name during the reign of Maharaja Bhupal Singh of Mewar State. Eklingji, as already mentioned, is the presiding deity of the State of Mewar. There is an old Shiva temple in the village, in a cave, which is the oldest structure in the area. 'Poornima Mela', a village fair, is held on every full-moon day.

These villages had the distinction of having received a foreign dignitary, when Mr. Malcolm Fraser, the Australian Prime Minister, visited them in January 1979. This historic visit has been commemorated by naming the road leading to Eklingpura as 'Fraser Lane'. Para

Parakakhet is a hamlet of Kaladwas, wherein live the Scheduled Tribe, the Bhils or Gamothis. It is two-and-a-half kilometres from the main village.

WHY THESE TWO VILLAGES WERE SELECTED FOR STUDY ?

The selection of these two villages for the purpose of this study was made on the basis of accessibility, exposure to various development programmes and proximity with block and district headquarters. These villages are also representative villages of the district with regard to rainfall, proportion of irrigated land and

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE VILLAGES

The following are the salient features of the villages under study:

<u>Population:</u>	<u>Kaladwas</u>	<u>Eklingspura</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male	719	416	1135
Female	669	357	1026
Total:	1388	773	2161
Scheduled Castes	116	43	159
Scheduled Tribes	433	112	545
<u>Households:</u>			
a) Kaccha	300	105	405
b) Pakka	45	54	99
Total:	345	159	504
<u>Literacy:</u>			
Number of literates	351	271	622
Number of illiterates	1037	502	1539
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Occupations:</u>			
Number of workers	416	259	675
Number of non-workers.	972	514	1486
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Workers:</u>			
Cultivation	261	177	438
Household industries	10	4	14
Manufacturing	40	9	49
Construction	25	11	36
Agricultural labourers	9	10	19
Trade & Commerce	7	4	11
Mining	11	5	16
Others	53	39	92
Total:	416	259	675
<u>Area: (in acres)</u>			
a) Geographical Area	2090	1823	3913
b) Area under cultivation	780	724	1504
i) Area irrigated	477	359	836
ii) Area unirrigated	303	365	668
Total:	780	724	1504
No. of wells with electric pump-sets	51	35	86
No. of tractors in the village	-	1	1

* According to 1971 Census.

-:: 5 ::-

<u>Crops: (in acres)</u>	<u>Kaladwas</u>	<u>Eklingspura</u>	<u>Total</u>
a) <u>Kharif</u>			
Maize	359	309	668
Sugarcane	38	23	61
Vegetables	13	18	31
Other Crops	59	25	84
Total:	469	375	844
b) <u>Rabi</u>			
Wheat	164	201	365
Barley	86	80	166
Gram	30	39	69
Vegetables	4	8	12
Fodder	27	21	48
Total:	311	349	660

Land-holdings:

Less than 2.5 acres	231	72	303
2.5 to 5 acres	57	50	107
5.1 to 7.5 acres	30	16	46
7.6 to 10.0 acres	10	10	20
Above 10 acres	17	11	28
Total:	345	159	504

Other Details:

Schools:

No. of primary schools	1	1	2
No. of middle schools	1	-	1

Students:

No. of boys	208	75	283
No. of girls	20	21	41
Total:	228	96	324

Post Office	1	-	1
Sub-centre of Health	1	-	1

Distance from District Headquarters	10 Km	7 Km	
Distance from Block Headquarters	10 Km	5 Km	
Distance from Railway Station	5 Km	6 Km	

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PART II

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY & THE METHODOLOGY ADOPTED

Intercaste Relations

For centuries, caste has been determining the pattern of social behaviour among different communities in India. Whatever might be the reasons for the origin and growth of the caste system in this country, it has admittedly been the biggest divisive force, standing in the way of complete emotional integration of the people, which can only be achieved through congenial inter-personal relationships. The objective of the author was to study the inter-personal relationships of different castes and groups in the two selected villages and to find out how the process of integration has been progressing in the area in the face of complex caste composition, as well as tribal and non-tribal cultures.

For purposes of this study, our team visited these two villages for more than a week, spending considerable time in acquainting itself with the area, the people and their social background. For collecting the necessary data from different sources, the methods of survey-research were adopted. The main tools of research were interview, observation and discussions, apart from study of documents and official records. Case study methods were also adopted. For interview purposes, a sample schedule or guide was prepared well in advance, and necessary information was collected from the respondents. The interviews were held in different locations - houses, fields, workspots, village-chowras and temples.

For illustrative purposes, a large number of photographs were taken by the team. Several rounds of discussions were also held with officials at various levels and non-officials. In addition, some voluntary organisations, involved in village development work, were also contacted. Records available at the Udaipur University and the School of Social Work, the Tribal Research Centre, etc., were also scanned. Our team participated in a seminar on 'Rural Development' organised by Seva Mandir, Udaipur, on December 6, 1980.

Sampling

For studying inter-caste relations, fortyfour respondents were selected by the author from the two villages. The selection of respondents was made on the basis of proportion of the caste or castes to total population, age, income groups and land holdings. The respondents number roughly 8.5% of the respective groups. Of the 44 samples, 15 were from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 19 from upper and dominant agriculturist castes and 12 from 'other castes'. The percentage of samples from 'other castes' is proportionately more as it was decided to take at least one sample from each caste sub-group, irrespective of its strength.

Thirtyfive of the samples were men and nine women. Age-wise, the sample may be divided as follow: below 25 years - 11; 25 to 50 years - 24; and above 50 years - 9.

The study on inter-caste relations covered the following (i) physical aspects; (2) occupational relations; (3) social interaction; (4) rituals and festivals; and (5) leadership.

An analysis of the data collected and the conclusions of the author are given in the following chapter.*

*Note: Though, for purposes of form, expressions like 'we' and 'our team' have been used in this chapter, the data was collected and interviews were conducted by the author himself. The observations and conclusions are, likewise, his own.

PART III
ANALYSIS OF DATA AND CONCLUSIONS

It may be said, at the outset, that Eklingpura and Kaladwas present a hopeful picture of weakening, if not total breaking, of the stranglehold of caste-system on the society. People from different castes interviewed by us - with only a few exceptions - have shown awareness of the fact that caste feelings and stratification of society on caste lines have a deleterious effect on social growth and progress. The villages have social unity and exhibited general solidarity.

If people are not able to come out of their grooves immediately, it is mainly due to their blind adherence to the age-old customs, practices and institutionalised behaviour, and the habit of living comfortably with oneself in the face of conflict, as explained by Dr. W.W. Redden in his Multiple Factor Theory. In addition, there is the overawing influence of the old men and women in the community who resist all change and deviations. For them a man's status and position in society are dependent on his caste, are predetermined by the God Almighty and it is a sacrilege to cross the barriers.

It is, therefore, encouraging to find signs of a new awakening among the people, particularly the youth, in these two villages, many of whom feel that the development and prosperity of their villages largely depends on the solidarity and unity displayed by people belonging to different castes. The proximity of these two villages to Udaipur City; winds of urbanisation and modernisation constantly blowing over them; social contacts developed by the villages through employment of some of them in the town and the industrial establishments in and around; increasing literacy; and improvement in the economic status of lower castes are some of the other factors ^{which} helped Eklingpura and Kaladwas to make a slow, but sure, step on the path of social unity and integration during the last few years.

Before discussing the inter-caste relations in detail, it is necessary to give a general picture of the caste composition in the two villages, the pattern of land-holdings, the nature

of occupations, caste in various institutions and the shadow of caste on ^{the} living habits of the people.

CASTE COMPOSITION

Eklingspura and Kaladwas have a score of endogamous 'Jatis' or castes, the dominating one being the farmers' caste of Dangis. There is a sizeable segment of tribal population in both the villages. The various castes in their hierarchical order are: Brahmin, Sadhu, Rajput, Mahajan (only in Kaladwas), Dangi, Kumbhar, Lohar, Suthar, Nayi, Lakhera, Kalal, Garg, Bhatt, Nagarchi, Salvi, Meghwal (Chamar) and Bagria, the last four being the Scheduled Castes. Bhil (Gamethi) is the Scheduled Tribe. There is a lone trading Sindhi family in Eklingspura. There are no non-Hindus. The Scheduled Castes constitute 6 per cent and 8 per cent of the total population in Eklingspura and Kaladwas respectively. The corresponding percentages of Scheduled Tribes are 14.5 and 31 in the two villages.

The following is the breakup of population, castewise, with their principal occupations:

Caste	EKLINGPURA		KALADWAS		Principal Occupation.
	No. of Households	Population.	No. of households	Population.	
Brahmin	12	60	14	54	Cultivator.
Sadhu	3	16	8	30	Priest.
Mahajan	-	-	3	14	Trader.
Bhatnagar	1	6	-	-	Cultivator.
Rajput	1	5	15	54	Cultivator.
Dangi	100	456	125	529	Cultivator.
Kumbhar	4	20	5	23	Potter.
Lohar	4	18	5	25	Blacksmith.
Suthar	1	4	1	4	Carpenter.
Nayi	6	19	2	9	Barber.
Lakhera	1	5	-	-	Bangles Trader.
Gayiri	-	-	15	60	Shepherd.
Kalal	1	2	-	-	Liquor Trader.
Garg	1	2	2	3	Priest for SC&ST
Toli	-	-	2	5	Oil Vender.
Bhatt	1	5	11	22	Record Keeper
Darji/Ved	-	-	1	7	Tailor.
Nagarchi (SC)	2	6	-	-	Drum beater.
Salvi (SC)	4	22	15	80	Weaver.
Meghwal (SC)	1	4	11	36	Shoe-maker.
Bagria (SC)	1	11	-	-	Labourer.
Bhil (Gamethi) (ST)	15	112	110	433	Cultivator.
Total:	159	773	345	1388	

* 1971 Census.

LAND-HOLDINGS & OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

The land-holders in the two villages, castewise, are as under:-

CASTE	EKLINGPURA	KALADWAS
Brahmins	12	14
Rajput	1	15
Dangi	94	125
Bhil (ST)	22	93
Salvi (SC)	0	
Meghwals(SC)	0	
Nagarchi(SC)	4	9
Others & landless	26	89
Total:	159	345

It is evident from the above that though the Dangis or Patels, as they are popularly called, hold the maximum cultivable land and constitute the dominant caste, many other communities also depend on agriculture, either looking after their own lands or working as agricultural labour. Besides, about 40 people in Eklingpura are employed either in Government service or in private firms. Of these 13 are Brahmins, six are Salvies (SC), five Lohars, five Bhils (ST) and the rest belonging to the other castes. 132 persons from Kaladwas are, likewise, employed in Government and private organisations in and around Udaipur. Of these 11 are Brahmins, 10 Rajputs, 11 Sadhus, 25 Dangis, 29 Scheduled Castes, 15 Scheduled Tribes, and 31 others. These figures indicate the increasing occupational mobility of non-Brahmin agriculturals, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes communities, which has a great impact on the modernisation and behavioural pattern of the villagers. Exposure to urban social life tends to reduce the severity of caste distinction and increase tolerance and cosmopolitan outlook.

CASTE IN VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS

The Gram Panchayat consists of 12 members, headed by a Brahmin Sarpanch and a Dangi Upsarpanch. Of the remaining, five are Dangis, one Rajput, one Salvi (SC) and one Gamethi/Bhil(ST). Of the two lady members, one is a Brahmin and the other a Lohar. The Patwari of Eklingpura is a Mahajan and of

Kaladwas a Brahmin. The Village Level Worker is a Bhatnagar (Kayasth). All the three do not belong to these villages.

There are eight teachers in the Middle School at Kaladwas, of whom three are Brahmins, three Mahajans, one Sadhu and one belonging to a backward class. In the Primary School at Eklingspura, there are two teachers - one Rajput and the other Brahmin. The teacher at the Parakakhet single-teacher school for tribals is a Brahmin.

In the sub-health centre at Kaladwas, both the midwives and the lone nurse belong to the Nayi community.

The number of students on rolls in the middle school, the primary school and the single teacher school, taken together, is 324. Of them Scheduled Caste students number 35 and Scheduled Tribe 70.

CASTE AND LIVING HABITS

a) Dress Pattern:

The dress of the villagers also varies according to their caste. While the people belonging to the farmers' caste, Dangis, wear Angarkha (shirt), Dhoti and a 10-metre long Angocha (turban) of black and white colours, others wear Dhoti, Kurta and a 10-metre long orange Safa or 20-metre long Pagri (turban).

Dangi women wear Gagra (petticoat), Kanchli (blouse) and a printed Vudni or Poncha, generally of red or orange colour. Women of other castes wear Lehenga (petticoat) Saree and Polka (blouse).

The dresses of Rajasthani men and women are very colourful. Women cover their heads and faces with ghunghat (veil).

b) Food:

While upper-castes like Brahmins, Mahajans (banias) and Sadhus (priests) have traditionally been vegetarians, there is a growing tendency amongst the Rajputs, Dangis and backward classes also to take to vegetarianism. Some of these people were even reluctant to admit that anyone eats meat in the

village. Bhils are non-vegetarian and also drink liquor.

c) Marriages:

No inter-caste marriages ever took place in these two villages. Child marriages are still prevalent in almost all castes. All the girls in the house are married off at a time and there were occasions when children in cradles were betrothed to each other. Girls are, however, sent to their in-laws' houses only on reaching puberty. If a girl becomes a widow meanwhile, she is given away in 'Natha' (second marriage) to a widower. It is strange that this illegal practice of child marriages is indulged in with impunity within 10 Km of the district headquarters. The officials take the stand that they can take action only on the basis of a specific complaint and no complaints are ever lodged as almost everyone indulges in this practice. The villagers, however, assert that this practice is on the decline for the last two or three years. But during our visit to Kaladwas we found a Sadhu boy of 12-13 years smartly dressed up, in ceremonial attire, for his marriage with a girl of 8 years on December 10, 1980.

Dowry system is not in vogue. Among the Bhils, however, 'Dhapa' (dowry) is paid to the girl by the boy. In some castes of the village, if a woman deserts her husband and lives with another, the latter has to pay Rs.2000 to 2500 as compensation to the aggrieved husband who also gets the custody of the children.

PATTERN OF INTER-CASTE RELATIONS

The nature and extent of inter-caste relations can be judged by factors like housing pattern; sources of drinking water; treatment at public and religious places, schools and hospitals; services by barbers, washermen, midwives, etc; visits to each other's houses; borrowing; invitation to marriages and other functions; inter-dining and taking water at each other's house; inter-caste marriages, method of celebrating festivals; participation in social and cultural functions; village leadership; roles in rituals, etc.

Judged by the above criteria, Eklingpura and Kaladwas present a mixed picture of entrenched traditional social barriers and emerging liberal trends. While different castes maintain their individual identities and traits, there is a good deal of social interaction and negligible inner conflicts, as compared to some States like U.P., Bihar, Haryana and the South, where the entire social fabric is threatened by growing and fierce caste conflicts. It would be no exaggeration to state that these two villages are almost free from inter and intra caste rivalries or hostilities. There is complete harmony among different castes and the villagers cannot recollect any serious caste conflict in the past few decades.

At the same time, it would be a far-fetched claim to say that the villagers are breaking the walls built around their respective castes. Each one of them is keen to retain his caste identity and does not visualise or encourage developments like inter-caste marriages or inter-dining where it does not exist now. They have learnt to live in their narrow surroundings with a sincere belief that the social situation, as obtaining today, is a legacy of our ancient culture and traditions and no amount of modernisation would ever be able to destroy this. In this, the educated and the illiterate, the leader and the led, the male and the female, the young and the old, the Brahmin and the Chamar have an identity of views. Strange it may seem, but they are happy in their own world !

Our team was surprised by the forthrightness with which people belonging to various castes loudly proclaimed their caste allegiance, hierarchical status and relations with other castes, without any reservations and rancour. There is no hypocrisy in their talk, no doubts about the infallibility of their beliefs, and no remorse for keeping some of their brethren chained to the humiliating shackles of an oppressive and out-dated caste discrimination. At the same time, they are also aware that caste differences tend to hamper the faster progress of the village.

We tried to assess the nature of intercaste relations through interviews, visits to the houses of people belonging to different castes and the various institutions. An attempt has been made to study the intercaste relations under the following heads:-

1. Physical aspects.
2. Occupational relations.
3. Social interaction.
4. Rituals and festivals, and
5. Leadership.

1. PHYSICAL ASPECTS

a) Housing pattern: Unlike in many other villages, houses of different castes are mixed both in Eklingpura and Kaladwas. There are no separate hamlets for Scheduled Castes. In Kaladwas, though the houses of Salvis and Meghwals are clustered together, these are in continuation of the Brahmin and Dangi houses and only small compound walls separate them.

The Scheduled Tribes, the Phils, however, live separately in a hamlet named Parakakhet, two and half kilometres away from the main village. It is stated that they also lived, at one time, in the same village but later shifted to the sites allotted to them by the Government.

There are no movement restrictions on the roads for Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. Scheduled Castes are also allowed into the compounds and porticoes of the houses, but not inside the houses, of upper caste people.

b) Drinking water arrangements: There is a main well at Eklingpura from which people of all castes draw water. There are some small wells too, but the big well is the main source of drinking water. Even the Scheduled Caste people have admitted that they are not prevented from taking water from the well, but they have only to wait until others finish taking water. Teja, the head of the only Bagria (SC) family in the village, an outspoken and bold man, asserts his equality in obtaining drinking water, but feels that it is mainly due to the upper castes' fear of law and not due to any change of heart in them. It is, however, a fact

that people from all castes draw water from the same well.

In Kaladwas, there are more than one well from which people of different castes draw water. As in Eklingpura, Scheduled Castes people have to wait until others take water. There is a separate 'Girgiri' for Scheduled Castes at one of the wells. Parvoo, a Meghwal house-wife, is bitter about this treatment at a public place, owned and managed by the Gram Panchayat. She is also sore that she has to sit separately from other ladies at community functions, cultural shows, etc. Asked why she is not able to defy these restrictions, she replied that she did not want quarrels with others, but a day might come when her resentment would burst out and she would no longer tolerate such discrimination. But unfortunately, when it comes to the question of her caste's relations with the other Harijans, like Bagrias and Bhangis, she practises discrimination and does not treat them as equals. The Bhils, living separately, have their own drinking water arrangements.

c) Schools: Our team visited the schools, both in Eklingpura and Kaladwas, and found that children belonging to different castes, including Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, are sitting together and the teachers - almost all of whom belong to upper castes - do not note out any discriminatory treatment. In fact, a few years ago, when some Rajputs objected to their children being seated alongside the Scheduled Caste students, the teachers stood their ground and asked the complaining parents to pull out their children from the school, if they did not like them to mix with others. This was corroborated in our interview with Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and backward class people - both adults and school-going children.

d) Medical facilities: In the sub-health centre at Kaladwas, equal treatment is given to all castes and there is no report of any discrimination.

e) Chopal or Chowra (meeting place) and temples: We have observed that people from various castes sit on the village chopal or chowra*, but Scheduled Caste people were found to be sitting on one side, slightly away from others. Even at the village temples, Scheduled Caste people do not go upto the sanctum sanctorum. When questioned about this, upper caste interviewers said that they did not prevent anybody from entering these places, but Scheduled Caste people keep themselves at a distance on their own accord, as a mark of respect to others. Even the Scheduled Caste people supported this statement by saying that since they were aware of the likely reactions of the upper castes, they maintain a respectable distance. It has been observed that even in the Panchayat meeting, which the team attended, the lone Salvi (SC) member sat at a respectable distance from the others.

2) OCCUPATIONAL RELATIONS:

The Brahmins, the Dangis and the Rajputs are the major land-owning communities in the two villages. Bhils (ST) also have substantial land holdings. People of other castes follow their traditional occupations as artisans and agricultural labour. Even marginal farmers work as tenants or agricultural labour for others. There are instances of even Dangis working as labourers on the farms of others, irrespective of their castes. Poor economic condition obliterates the caste complex in such cases. Similarly, Brahmins have not only taken to agriculture, but some of them are doing lowly jobs in Government and factories.

Land-owning being a status symbol, SC&ST farmers owning substantial land-holdings receive better treatment from the hands of upper caste people. Kocka (Bhil) and Chain Ram (Salvi) fall in this category. They own 20 and 10 bighas of land respectively. Chain Ram's sons are educated and are employed in Udaipur.

*Note: A temple is generally attached to the Chowra to facilitate witnesses, appearing before the Panchayat or caste leaders, to take oath on God and speak the truth only.

Priests, barbers and midwives have divided the households among themselves for service purposes. Brahmins do not act as priests for Scheduled Caste people, who requisition the services of Gargis or gurus for marriages and rituals. There are separate barbers for scheduled castes. For example, the 10 Meghwal (SC) families in Kaladwas are served by a barber from a nearby village, Khampur. There is no Dhobi in either of the villages.

Jajmani system is partially prevalent in the two villages in that people pursuing occupations like barber, carpenter, mid-wife, domestic servant and agricultural labourers etc. are paid in grain for their services. Domestic servants are few in number and they are drafted mostly from among the Bhils. People have also started changing their traditional occupations. For example, Basanti Lal (30) a Nayi, no longer works as a barber but is employed in a quarry.

3. SOCIAL INTERACTION:

a) Visits: Except the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, other villagers visit each others' houses freely and are entertained. The Dangis and the backward class people have close inter-personal relationships and have no inhibitions in entertaining each other. Women visit other caste houses and invite each other for pujas, vrats, etc. Scheduled Castes people are not allowed beyond the portico of the houses, nor are they keen to visit these places except on some work. Mohanlal, a Salvi and Member of the Gram Panchayat, is sore that even as a Panchayat Member he is not spared from this social stigma. He has to sit separately from caste Hindus when he attends their functions.

b) Borrowing: Women belonging to different castes, except SC & ST, freely borrow uncooked foodgrains, whole vegetables, salt, sugar, etc., from each others' houses. Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people do so only from their own caste houses.

c) Inter-dining: Though the Dangis are the dominant caste in the two villages, they maintain remarkably cordial social

relations with the other castes (except Scheduled Castes). On occasions like marriages and other social functions, all the upper and backward castes gather, dine together and exchange gifts. Bhanwar Lal (55) a Iakhera, said that 30 years ago, he had to sit separately from Dangis and other upper caste people in feasts but now he sits with them. Asked whether he felt any inferiority complex on such occasions, he asserted, "I would not go there if I were not treated as an equal".

Brahmins, when they attend functions in other caste houses, do not take the regular meal, but only partake 'Pakka Rasoi' (Puri, halwa, sweets, etc.). They sometimes cook their own meal at the host's house from the cereals and condiments, supplied by the latter. Upper and backward caste people, when they visit a Salvi(SC)'s house - which is very rare - eat food cooked by some one from among their castes at the host's place. Caste Hindus do not also patronise the teastall run by a Salvi (SC) woman in the village, though Mangibai (35), the owner, claims otherwise. Only lower caste people and drivers of trucks and cars passing on the highway are found drinking tea at the stall.

4. FESTIVALS AND RITUALS:

Holi, Diwali and Raksha Bandhan are the three main festivals celebrated in the two villages. Holi is observed with great enthusiasm and people belonging to all castes participate in it. Our enquiries revealed that lighting the fire, burning of the Tyohar, spraying of coloured water and smearing faces with 'Gulal' are restricted to the upper, agriculturist and backward castes only, while the SC & ST people are mere spectators. There is, however, no bar on the other caste people throwing coloured water or 'gulal' on SC & ST people.

On the occasion of Raksha Bandhan, people of different castes tie Rakhis and caste distinctions are ignored. However, Scheduled Castes are again excluded here also. Bhils also observe the same festivals.

Villagers show great solidarity and extend mutual help in times of distress and on occasions like death and disease. People of all castes attend the funerals whenever a death takes place in the village and visit the sick in all houses, irrespective of the caste. This is a remarkable feature of the social life of these two villages.

5. LEADERSHIP:

The leadership, political and social, in these two villages is in the hands of Brahmins and Dangis, others playing only a secondary role. In the Panchayat elections, held in February 1978, the present Sarpanch, Shri Kishanlal Sharma, a Brahmin, defeated Shri Penji Katka, a Dangi, by 1046 to 240 votes, though Dangi voters are in an overwhelming majority in the three villages constituting the Gram Panchayat. This shows that the political consciousness of the villagers has transcended narrow communal and caste considerations. Several Dangi villagers, interviewed by us, asserted that they had voted against their own caste man and for a Brahmin keeping the larger interests of the village in view. This is a welcome development in the context of the growing influence of caste in the national and regional politics, and to that extent the villagers of Eklingpura and Kaladwas deserve commendation.

The co-operative society at Tithedu, 10 Kms away, serves these two villages in the matter of supply of essential consumer goods. Both the President and Secretary of the Society are Rajputs.

Besides the Gram Panchayat, almost all the castes have their own 'Jati Panchayats' in their own village or elsewhere, to settle interpersonal disputes, and to guide the social behaviour of the members. These age-old institutions, which once wielded considerable influence on their members, are gradually losing their hold with the growth of literacy and awakening among the people. There is also a 'Nyay Panchayat' consisting of the Sarpanch, one SC, one ST and one woman-Members to settle petty disputes among the villagers.

The Scheduled Tribes also have their 'Jatti Panchayat'. It may be mentioned in this connection that a Tribal leader,

Shri B.L. Meena, represents the Udaipur Rural Assembly constituency in which these two villages fall.

There are two youth organisations in Eklingpura: The Krishak Nava Yuvak Mandali and the Sastri Nava Yuvak Mandali with over 30 members in each belonging to various castes. A Brahmin is the principal office bearer of these two organisations and a Salvi boy (SC) is the treasurer. The main objectives of these organisations are to ensure cleanliness in the village, organise sports, induce children to pursue higher education, campaign against child marriages, etc.

THE SCHEDULED TRIBES AND THE SCHEDULED CASTES

The Bhils represent the oldest surviving inhabitants of the area. They figure from the earliest times in the historical records of the Rajput rulers. Their association with the ruling house of Udaipur, the Sishodia Rajputs, was particularly intimate. In the 9th Century A.D. Bappa Rawal, the Sishodia Rajput, was reared from childhood by a Bhil Chief and from this came the custom that each new ruler of Mewar, on his accession to the throne, must have his forehead marked with a tilak of blood from the finger of a Bhil. There were many instances in Rajput history of the valuable assistance given by Bhils in their numerous wars, particularly to Rana Pratap against the armies of Akbar. The loyalty and assistance given by the Bhils ^{ere} / recognised by the Ranas in their State emblem which shows a resplendent sun with a Rajput warrior on one side and a Bhil on the other side.

This historical fact still governs the relations of Bhils with the other Hindu castes. Bhils command greater respect and acceptability from the upper caste Hindus than the other tribals in the rest of the country. Bhils in Udaipur area, exposed to urbanisation and modernisation, are gradually being detribalised and the old practices ^{of} / hunting, food gathering, marriages by capture, etc., are no longer in existence. Their principal occupation now is agriculture and they observe all the Hindu festivals, just like the other castes. In fact, their way of

life has undergone so much transformation as to make them feel that they are above the scheduled castes in social status and treat the Scheduled Castes people in the same manner as the other castes do. They do not take water at S.C. houses and there is a constant effort to come nearer to other agricultural and artisan castes.

Brahmins act as priests for Bhils. Caste Hindus attend functions in Bhil houses, but do not normally take food there. When Brahmins and other caste people invite Bhils for functions in their houses, they are separately fed.

In the case of Scheduled Castes, a high degree of pollution acted as a barrier to their upward mobility in social standing. Caste taboos are marked in their case and the ritual distance between them and the others is still considerable. The Scheduled Castes suffer from discrimination and disadvantage, but the pernicious practice of untouchability has almost vanished. The abject respect shown earlier by Harijans before higher castes is no longer displayed. Harijans no longer step aside when passing others on the road. There is no discrimination in schools, hospitals, etc. There is also a greater awareness among the Scheduled Castes in these villages, as compared to the other parts of the country.

But, it is an irony that while Caste Hindus observe some taboos against the scheduled castes, among the scheduled castes themselves, there is no interdining between various sub-groups and caste feelings are as deep among themselves, as between them and the upper castes.

IS THERE A CHANGE IN OUTLOOK ?

The foregoing analysis shows that people in both the villages are conscious of their castes and try to regulate their social behaviour according to the traditional norms. Each villager's name is suffixed by his caste name and even a small child knows who belongs to which caste in the village, the

location of their houses and the hierarchy of various castes. In fact, our team had no difficulty in selecting the samples for this study, as any villager could guide us to a house of the nominated caste.

As mentioned earlier, there is no hesitation or shyness on the part of any section of the village population in proclaiming their caste identification, and justifying its continuance. They do know that caste distinctions affect the solidarity of the village, but do not find it necessary to make a departure in any respect, on the ground that the system had survived over the centuries and any attempt to change it would disturb the social equilibrium. There are old men like Kannaaji Patil (60) who resent any weakening of the caste system and do not mix or allow their family members to mix with other castes.

Our interview with a 70-year old Dangi farmer, Mana, a jovial and colourful personality, was quite revealing. We reproduce below extracts from the conversation:

Interviewer: Times have changed. Have you also changed with the times, particularly in regard to your approach to caste and inter-caste relations ?

Mana: I have not changed much, but my children have changed.

Interviewer: Do you go to lower caste houses and eat and drink water ?

Mana: I go to all houses except those of the Scheduled Castes. I visit the Bhils' houses also, but I cook my own food.

Interviewer: Do you drink water in their houses?

Mana: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you allow the Scheduled Caste people to sit with you ?

Mana: I do not object. They themselves shy away. If they come like this (pointing to a man standing with us), we do not mind.

Interviewer: In an election, do you vote for a Dangi only ?

Mana: No, we have voted for a Brahmin in the last election against our own man.

Interviewer: Do you vote for a SC man similarly ?

Mana: Yes, if he is active enough to deliver the goods.

Interviewer: Do you respect a SC man, if he is a land-owner like you or bigger than you ?

Mana: Yes.

Interviewer: Then why do you discriminate against Scheduled Castes ?

Mana: I do not discriminate. I do not eat or take water in their houses. That is my personal choice. Otherwise, unlike in my childhood days, they walk freely on the roads, they come to the Chowra, talk to us freely and come to our houses, though not to the interior area.

Interviewer: Do you allow a boy in your family to marry a girl from another caste ?

Mana: No.

Interviewer: What will you do, if he does ?

Mana: I will expel him from the house, as my caste will excommunicate me.

Interviewer: That means you have not changed much ?

Mana: It is too late for me to change. But times are changing and children are changing. Old men like me will not be able to prevent the changes.

Interviewer: Do you think increasing literacy will have an impact on inter-caste relations ?

Mana: Education may change towns, but not so easily the villages, where people are steeped in tradition and conscious of their hierarchical position in the society.

We have questioned a few more villagers also about inter-caste marriages. Almost all those interviewed vehemently opposed inter-caste marriages as undesirable. While the elders said that they would expel any deviationist from the caste, the youngsters feel that there is no need for inter-caste marriages as sufficient number of girls are available in their own caste and risking the 'family and caste reputation' is, therefore, not

worthwhile. A few replied that they would tolerate if their sons or daughters marry in the castes above theirs. A 30-year old Suthar, Hamerlal, who has a carpentry shop at Udaipur, was the lone exception, who said he was for inter-caste marriages.

We had an interesting discussion on this issue with the Secretary of the Mava Muvak Mandali at Ellingpura. Asked whether the Mandali would take up a programme for greater integration of castes and encouragement of inter-caste marriages among the youth, the Secretary, a young Brahmin and Headmaster of a school in Udaipur, argued spiritedly about the rationale of the caste system in the Indian society, and the likely harm to the social system and its progress due to inter-caste marriages. He saw nothing wrong in the existing disparities and social stratification. "Traditions have to be maintained and there is no need for a change" he asserted.

Even the village Sarpanch, an otherwise enlightened Brahmin Advocate, extremely popular with the villagers, is conservative in his approach to caste system and is against any attempt to erase the existing social barriers or try for greater integration of castes. Asked whether, as a leader of the village community, he would take up a programme for integration of castes and removal of present social inequalities, he replied in the negative on the ground that such an action, while not producing the desired result, would only jeopardise his leadership of the community and his political future.

On the contrary, Amba Das (22), working in a public undertaking, advocates more frequent meetings between the members of different castes and joint celebration of festivals to reduce differences. He feels that caste feelings are on the decline. Bhagwati Lal Sharma, a 20-year old Brahmin cultivator, also pleads for greater social interaction between different castes. He proudly declared that he often goes to a Salvi(SC)'s house, perhaps without the knowledge of his parents, and takes food there. He pointed out to us a Salvi youth, who is a close friend of his and whose house he visits often.

Ram Lal, a young Dangi factory worker, is candid in saying, "I am progressive minded, but elders are still tradition-bound. Unless the old generation goes, things would not improve radically". But we were surprised at the reaction of his mother, Kannibai. While we were interviewing her son, she came to call him. When we jocularly told her that we belong to another caste and were negotiating her son's marriage with a girl of our caste, she was quick in replying "why not ? The same Blood flows in you and me". That indicates that the older generation is not as rigid as is apprehended by the youngmen and it is the youngsters who lack courage.

SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS

As far as the inter-caste relations are concerned, Eklingpura and Kaladwas present a picture of interesting contrasts:-

- * The various castes live in harmony, mix with each other freely, but perpetuate their caste identities;
- * They profess liberal ideas even when they followed the traditional pattern;
- * They visit each other's house, invite each other for ceremonies, but when it comes to inter-dining they observe taboos;
- * They draw water from a common well, but when it comes to drinking the same in a particular caste home, they shun it;
- * They are progressive enough to elect a Brahmin as a Sarpanch in a predominantly Dangi area, but reactionary when it comes to social integration;
- * They absorb fruits of modernisation, but perform, at the same time, the much-condemned child marriages;
- * They have a Nagarchi (SC) as a Panchayat poon, trotting all over the village, including the temple premises, but keep the Scheduled Castes away from the sanctum sanctorum of the temple. Inter-caste defilement persists to some extent.

In short, these two villages are at the cross-roads of tradition and social change, the direction of progress being

clearly towards change, albeit not radical or quick enough. After all, it is not an easy task to break the social barriers built over the centuries, and with the people of older generation still around. It is very clear that some aspects of caste are being attenuated.

The villages are ripe for further inroads into social inequality and progress towards social change, if only an imaginative and bold leadership takes upon it the task of educating and motivating the villagers. It is unfortunate that the present leadership in the two villages is reluctant to take up this challenging task. The hope, therefore, lies in the new generation which may bring about a greater social integration in course of time, if not, complete abolition of the caste system, which is a scourge on the society.

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PART IV
ANNEXURES

Annexure 'A'

Details of persons interviewed.

Sl.No.	Name	Age	Village	Caste	Occupation
1.	Shri Biswarlal	55	Eklingspura	Lakhera	Trader of Bangles.
2.	Shri Surender	18	"	Brahmin	Student.
3.	Shri Ganeshlal	25	"	Dangi	Small farmer.
4.	Shri Narain	32	"	Kurhar	Potter.
5.	Shri Jagannath	21	"	Dangi	Small farmer.
6.	Shri Ambadas	22	"	Sadhu	Worker in Indian Pesticides.
7.	Shri Kannaji Patel	60	"	Dangi	Large farmer.
8.	Shri Purshottan	37	"	Brahmin	Trolleyman in Blys.
9.	Shri Bhanwar Lal	23	"	Nagarchi (SC)	Peon in Gram Panchayat.
10.	Shri Onkarlal	24	"	Lohar	Service in Indian Pesticides.
11.	Shri Basant Lal	30	"	Nayi	Barber.
12.	Shri Manohar Singh	30	"	Rajput	Large farmer.
13.	Shri Kamala Shankar	21	"	Brahmin	Headmaster in a city school and Secretary, Sastri Bava Kuvak Mandali.
14.	Shri Hamerlal	30	"	Suthar	Carpenter.
15.	Shri Dal Chand	28	"	Salvi(SC)	Watchman, FCI.
16.	Shri Ambalal	55	"	Salvi(SC)	Small farmer.
17.	Shri Teja	40	"	Bagri(SC)	Labourer.
18.	Smt. Modibai	37	"	Lohar	House-wife & Member, Panchayat.
19.	Smt. Mangibai	35	"	Salvi(SC)	Tea-stall owner.
20.	Smt. Pyari	50	"	Nagarchi (SC)	House-wife.
21.	Smt. Nakari	35	"	Dangi	House-wife & large-farmer.
22.	Shri Bhanwarilal	30	Kaladwas	Brahmin	Lab. Attendant in Udaipur College.
23.	Shri Shivram	18	"	Salvi(SC)	Student.
24.	Shri Bhagwatilal Sharma	20	"	Brahmin	Marginal farmer.
25.	Shri Mana	70	"	Dangi	Small farmer.
26.	Shri Mohanlal	45	"	Salvi(SC)	Service in Indian Pesticides & Member, Gram Panchayat.
27.	Shri Puren	30	"	Dangi	Small farmer.
28.	Shri Ram Lal	22	"	Dangi	Factory Worker
29.	Shri Varda	25	"	Bhil(ST)	Agri. labour.
30.	Shri Ram Lal	45	"	Bhil	Agri. labour.
31.	Shri Rama	60	"	Bhil	Small farmer & Member, Gram Panchayat.
32.	Shri Bagga	50	"	Bhil	Small farmer.

Sl.No.	Name	Age	Village	Caste	Occupation
33.	Shri Kowla	60	Kaladwas	Bhil(ST)	Marginal farmer.
34.	Shri Karoo	48	"	Garg	Tailor.
35.	Shri Vivilal	30	"	Garg	Priest for SC
36.	Smt. Parobai	75	"	Bhat	House-wife
37.	Smt. Sankribai	30	"	Bhat	House-wife
38.	Smt. Kannibai	60	"	Dangi	House-wife
39.	Smt. Parvce	30	"	Meghwal (SC)	House-wife
40.	Smt. Chunibai	55	"	Brahmin	House-wife & Panchayat Member.

Village officials interviewed

41.	Shri Kisharlal Sharma	35		Brahmin	Sarpanch of Eklingpura, Kaladwas and Manwakhera.
42.	Shri Badrilal Agarwal	50		Mahajan	Patwari of Eklingpura
43.	Shri Sohan Lal	40		Brahmin	Patwari of Kaladwas.
44.	Shri Abhaysingh Bhatnagar	47		Kayastha	Village Level Worker.

Annexure 'B'

Members of the Gram Panchayat of Kaladwas, Eklingpura and Menwakhern
with their castes.

Sl.No.	Name	Caste	
1.	Shri Kishan Lal Sharma	Barhmin	Sarpanch.
2.	Shri Ramaji	Dangi	Up Sarpanch.
3.	Shri Heersingh	Rajput	Member
4.	Shri Bheemaji	Dangi	Member
5.	Shri Kukaram	"	Member
6.	Shri Ganeshlal	"	Member
7.	Shri Shivram	"	Member
8.	Shri Khemaji	"	Member
9.	Shri Ramaji	Lhil(ST)	Member
10.	Shri Mohanlal	Salvi(SC)	Member
11.	Smt. Chuni Bai	Brahmin	Lady Member
12.	Smt. Modibai	Lohar	Lady Member.

INTER-CASTE RELATIONSHIPS IN A KERALA VILLAGE

A STUDY MADE BY

M.M.K. SARDANA

Roll No. 624

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE COMPLETION
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PART I - METHODOLOGY

Not many years ago caste system in Kerala was found to be extremely rigid with all attended rigours and exclusiveness not only among Hindus but among Christians and Muslims as well. Swami Vivekanand was constrained to remark that Kerala is a "mad house of India". Of late impression has sought to be given that under the influence of social reformers like Narayana Guru, Chattampi Swamikal, Abdul Khadir Molvi, reinforced by spread of western education and accelerated by rapid means of communication and migration of population etc. caste-relationships have given way to a new social order where relationships are determined on the basis of class rather than caste.

In order to determine the extent of influence of caste in the human relationships both in social as well as economic scales, it is imperative to look at the problem multi-angularly and by approaching a set of population which has been exposed to all the above mentioned factors. For this purpose, a historical appreciation of the caste relationships as were prevalent has to be understood which has to be tested with respect to the existing relationships that have developed under the influence of the factors described above.

Nemom village in Trivandrum District was selected for study. This village is situated only 6 kms. away from Trivandrum city and is well connected by roads to other parts of Kerala. Level of literacy is around 60%. It has got industrial estate, film studio, high school, number of primary schools, health centres etc.

In Part II of the study we would describe the historical relationships of various caste groups. In Part III a brief resume of the interactions of the author with selected households of different castes will be described. (the households were selected at random with the help of Bureau of Economic and Statistics who applied random number tables). In Part IV conclusions of the study would be described.

It may be mentioned that villages in Kerala are usually highly populated and have unusually large area. Nemom village itself has a population of above 57,000 and is divided into two panchayats. One panchayat is named after the village. Nemom panchayat has 11 wards. Ward No.10 i.e. Kolia Kode is reserved for Scheduled Castes for giving representation in the Panchayat. This Ward has 561 households with a population of 2948 out of which 428 are Scheduled Castes. 248 houses are electrified and 231 houses have water facility. 427 households own land less than 2.5 acres while 140 households are below the poverty line.

As the study had to be completed within a limited period of 10 days, it presented certain limitations. This was compounded by the difficulty of language barrier. Help of interpreter had to be sought and the response of the respondents was coloured by the perceptions of the interpreters apart from increase in time spent on interviewing the respondents. Therefore 33 households only out of Kolia Kode Ward could be interviewed. Care was, however, taken to go on the basis of random number table as suggested by Bureau of Economic and Statistics.

In order to ensure that maximum informality could be maintained with respect to the respondents, who were reticent before strangers like us, no formal questionnaire was formulated. Rather recourse was taken to informal chats with the respondents and a few chats in the area where members of the village frequented were visited in order to concretise the conclusions. Informal visits were also made to Mahila Mandals, schools, and small way side markets. The talks were held in order to solicit information on the following aspects:-

- (1) The educational attainments of various caste groups and opportunities being provided to them to attain education of their choice.
- (2) To determine the social inter-course between members of various castes at ceremonial functions like marriages, funerals, child birth, festivals etc.

- (3) Freedom of visit to places of worship by different caste groups.
- (4) Freedom of visit to places open to public irrespective of caste criterion.
- (5) Membership of Mahila Mandals, Clubs etc. - whether on caste basis.
- (6) Whether members of lower caste or other communities suffer from any disability for obtaining drinking water from the wells of higher caste Hindus etc.
- (7) Status of inter-caste marriages.
- (8) Discrimination in the allotment of work on the basis of caste say in agricultural operation.
- (9) Occupational mobility - vertical (upwards), vertical (downwards) and horizontal.
- (10) Economic relationships obtaining between different castes.
- (11) Political disability if any suffered by a particular caste group.
- (12) Latent reservations of members of high caste Hindus towards lower caste Hindus and other communities and vice-versa.

Part II - Historical relationships of various caste groups

In Kerala Hindus are generally divided into the following castes:-

- (a) Brahmins
- (b) Ambalavasi
- (c) Nairs
- (d) Ezhavas - Backward Classes
- (e) Nadar - Backward Classes
- (f) Other backward classes like carpenters
(Asari), Blacksmith (Kollan), Barber
(Ambattam), Coconut plucker (Oorali), Potter
(Kusavan), Washerman (Velluthedan), Oilman
(Vanikar) etc.
- (g) Pullayas (Scheduled Castes)
- (h) Parayasa and Thandars (Scheduled Castes)

The above castes among Hindus have been re-arranged in descending order of hierarchy. The above castes themselves are further sub-divided into various sub groups. For example Nairs, who generally are taken as Kashatriyas, are actually further divided into 14 sub castes as follows:-

- (a) Illath Nair
- (b) Vela Nair
- (c) Velakkitala Nair
- (d) Veluterat Nair

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| (e) Marar Nair | (m) Unnitan Nair |
| (f) Kurup Nair | (n) Risharodi Nair |
| (g) Adiouodi Nair | |
| (h) Numbiar Nair | |
| (i) Minoki Nair | |
| (j) Menon Nair | |
| (k) Warrior Nair | |
| (l) Panikar Nair | |

The sub-division of the Nairs above was based upon the duties assigned to different sub groups in respect of their relationships to the temple and in respect of their occupation in order to satisfy the needs of Brahmins and Nairs of other communities. For example Velakkitala Nair was a Barber to serve the needs of Brahmins and other Nairs sub-groups but was far bidden from giving service to the other castes lower in the hierarchy.

The marriage and dining relationships between the different sub groups of the main caste were strictly regulated. Illith Nair who were the bodyguards of Maharaja would not have marriage relationships with Vela Nairs (Potters), Veluterat Nair (Washerman) etc. They could marry within Illith Nair or with Ambalavasi.

Similarly the Ezhavase had among them different sub groups depending upon their occupation like toddy trapping, trading, traders, soldiers and Nadars. would also be similarly placed. The marriage relationships between Ezhavase and Nadars were far bidden. Similarly

the other backward classes would also not marry except within their caste. Pullayas and Parayas/^{Thandars} would confine themselves to unclean occupations like skinning of dead animals and agricultural operations.

The social status of different caste groups was also in the same order in which the castes have been described above. This was further reinforced because the royal patronage used to percolate in the strict order of the caste system. Not unnaturally; therefore, Brahmins who were very small in number used to hold maximum landed property and had access to the opportunity provided by the State for education and for other benefits. Pullayas and Parayas were left far behind.

The high differential between economic and social status had given rise to different forms of rituals that were adopted on ceremonial functions like marriages, funerals, child birth etc. The rituals were highly complicated/^{on the} higher caste because they were in a position to extract service, obedience and command from all those who were lower down in the caste hierarchy. The rituals correspondingly for the lowest in the caste hierarchy were simple.

The property relationship and inheritance also correspondingly varied from caste to caste. Two types of inheritance were in vogue:

- (1) Makkathayis - Patrilinear
- (2) Marumakkathayis - Matrilinear

Nambudaris and other Brahmins followed the Patrilinear system while Nairs, Ambalavasis till recently followed Matrilinear system. Ezhavase, Nadaras and Scheduled Castes followed both the systems. The prevalence of Matrilinear system among Ambalavasis and Nairs was also a direct consequence of the dominance of Brahmins over these castes. Among Nambudari Brahmins only the eldest brother used to marry while the younger brothers used to have 'sambandh' with the Nair women. Naturally in such a system the property used to pass from woman to woman. The hold of a few Nambudari was to such an extent that it was believed that the Nair women would put off their chastity and the clothes that cover ^{ed} their breast and devote themselves to satisfy the desires of the Brahmin.

The nearness to the deity was governed strictly in order of caste hierarchy. The Pullayas and Parayas including Nadars and Ezhavas were far bidden from entry into temples while the Nairs could go to the temples but their nearness to the deity would depend upon the hierarchy within the Nair caste.

The caste hierarchy received a severe jolt under the influence of reformers like Narayana Guru and Chattampi Swamikal. Narayana Guru was Ezhava while Chattampi Swamikal was a Nair. They were able to build up a movement calling for rationality which gave a severe blow to the Brahminical ^{order}. Polygamy and Polyandry was abolished by the Nair Act of 1925. The temples were made open to the public by a statute in the following year.

- 5 -

Kerala has got a preponderance of Cristians and
Muslims also. Cristians^{are} further sub divided into various
sub groups and among them Syrian Cristians are considered
to be of highest denomination. The cristians belonging
to this group used to look down upon other Cristian
groups. Even today the Scheduled Castes who have
converted to Cristianity are not accepted by Cristians
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.....10/-

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PART III - BRIEF RESUME OF THE INTERACTIONS OF THE
AUTHOR WITH SELECTED HOUSEHOLDS OF DIFFERENT
CASTES

For the purpose of covering primary data to understand the existing caste relationship, 33 households (selected on the basis of random number table) in Kolia Kode Ward of Nemom Panchayat were visited for informal interviews. The breakup caste-class of these households was as follows:-

Nair	-	12
Pullayas	-	13
Nadar	-	4
Asari	-	1
Vanikkar	-	1
Muslim	-	1
Christian	-	1

In addition, elected ward number - a Pullaya was also interviewed. Informal chats with people of the village at various shops were made.

It was found that Nairs were generally Government servants, moneylanders and land-holders while all the people belonging to other castes were agricultural labourers, the Vanikkar and Asari resorted to their traditional profession of oil crushing and carpentry respectively while they were not engaged in agricultural operations as agricultural labourers. The houses of Nairs were generally well made on the side of being pucca and were kept cleaner than those of other castes. The houses

of Pullayas were on the other hand kutcha, ill kept and gave a poor looking from a distance. Pullayas were generally indebted to Nair landlords and their assets were usually mortgaged. Even Nadars, ^{Ezhavas &} Muslims were also indebted. The education opportunity was available irrespective of the caste. Children of all the communities used to sit together and there was no discrimination in the school. However, educational attainments among the Pullayas and other Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes like Nadars were not up to the mark. Whereas among Nair communities, we came across MAs and Graduates, no Pullaya/Scheduled Caste was Matriculate. It was gathered from the Ward number that only two Pullayas had been able to pass Matriculation in the Ward.

In the matter of distribution of work Scheduled Caste women were not generally allowed to do thrashing as it was done in the houses of the Nairs and not in the fields. Therefore, some sort of discrimination on the basis of caste was visible. However, the Nairs refused to admit this thing. They were of the view that the Scheduled Castes women were not good enough for doing the thrashing work which was denied by the Scheduled Castes women.

There was a Shiva temple in an adjoining Ward where people of all communities could visit and no hierarchial relationships in regard to distance from deity was maintained.

More and self-arranged marriages commonly known as "love marriages" were taking place. In the sample chosen 5 marriages were love marriages but generally they were within

the same caste. It is understood that 5 to 6 months earlier a Nair girl had married a Pullaya boy. The Nair family felt so humiliated that they left the village for an adjoining village after selling their property. We came across a high caste Nair girl marrying a low caste Nair boy which was not liked by the family of the girl. The parents of the eligible children were not in favour of marrying their children outside their caste. However, the lower caste parents expressed no objection if their children were married among the higher caste.

There was virtually no difficulty of drinking water for Pullayas because large number of houses of Pullayas also had drinking water wells. The Nair families also had no objection in giving water to the Pullayas but they had hesitation in allowing Pullayas to draw water themselves from the well. On further probe, Nairs expressed that their reluctance was not on the basis of caste but because of the unclean habits of Pullayas. Some of the Nairs however, admitted that because of the prejudices of the elders in their households they would not allow Pullayas to draw water by themselves from the wells.

At the time of social functions Pullayas are invited to the households of higher caste but are not allowed entry in the inner portions of the house. The elder Nair women were not ⁱⁿ favour of serving food to Pullayas along with higher caste Hindus. Similarly Muslims and Christians were also frowned upon. However, the younger generations among both the communities were found mixing with each

other because they were going to the same schools. The younger generations maintained their hesitancy to marry inter caste unless they had compelling reasons to fall in love.

The Nairs and Other Backward Classes correspondingly do not generally go to the households of Pullayas at their social functions. When Pullayas come to invite them, they are blessed by the Nairs and Other Backward Classes and in token thereof a small contribution is made towards the expenses on the ceremonies.

On the Onam/Diwali day also similarly Pullayas may go to outer portions of the Nairs/Other Backward Classes but not vice-versa.

The Ward member is a Scheduled Caste Pullaya. The Constituency is reserved for Scheduled Castes. But the most influential activist is a Nair who belongs to CPI(M) and is also moneylender. Almost all the households visited and the information gathered at the other points revealed that indebtedness was prevalent 100% among the lower caste and other backward classes yet the ward representative flatly denied this. When questioned that if the ward was not reserved for Scheduled Castes whether he would still be put as a candidate by his party. The answer was no but in uncertain tone. The political activist and moneylender probably has the strings to pull otherwise the ward member could have also told the truth of indebtedness.

The Pullayas community in spite of the fact that the Ward members belong to their community was not very certain about their own ward member as to whether he would help them in getting out of the clutches of the moneylender within the parameters of law. Age old customs of having separate spread Barbers etc. for Nairs had given way to the proletarian system and the Barbers were called from outside shops who were serving all the communities. Similar situation prevailed in regard to washermen etc.

The Mahila Mandal was running certain nutrition programmes and crafts programmes. Women from all communities were being provided service there. In one of the Mahila Mandal, register was checked of the persons who were attending sewing classes. The register carried to caste names. However, the enthusiasm among the Scheduled Castes young men to join the sports clubs and libraries was lacking. This was not on the basis of caste consideration because the youngsters were otherwise mixing in the schools quite freely. The conditions at their homes otherwise were probably preventing them from the social activities.

Lower castes were confining themselves only to agriculture labour, ladders etc. The occupational mobility upwards was missing. However, among the lower caste horizontal mobility was noticed. Scheduled Castes could be working as coconut pluckers which was the traditional profession of Ooralis - other backward classes. Similarly downward vertical mobility of Nairs was also absent. They were confining themselves to Govt. service, trade and land holdings.

PART IV - CONCLUSIONS

The immediate conclusion of the study is that while the ward we studied has travelled far beyond the description of Swami Viveka Nand, it has yet to attain the desired dispersal level of the distribution of assets and other social benefits irrespective of the caste basis. The spread of education and communication has certainly generated a new sense of awareness among the communities and the rigours of the caste system have loosened. Yet the reservations both latent and patent remain in regard to inter-marriages and free access to each other in social inter course. The privileges of proprietorship and administrative and supervisory forces are still enjoyed by the dominant castes, belonging to the intermediate sections of the Hindus in the ward studied. The process of economic reorganization among the various castes is yet to materialise. The upward occupational mobility and class reorganization among the lowest caste which traditionally constitute the dependent class of agrarian labour, are extremely minimal. Land holdings remain with the upper caste who dominate in the government service, trade and money lending. The lower caste though being benefited by education (not by way of attainment) are yet to attain the control over assets and other means of production. The lower caste still depend upon the high caste moneylenders in order to meet their obligations at various ceremonies and at the time of other needs. There is a clear bias towards better and

remunerative employment being largely associated with traditional high caste status and occupational freedom. In spite of the opportunities of education and protective legislation, the appropriation of various salaried jobs under the government and quasi-government sector has been largely ^{disproportionate} among the different communities to the advantage of higher caste. The lowest among the caste are also the poorest earnings groups and vice-versa. This is the natural consequence of persistent disparity in the distribution of land holdings, education and employment opportunities.

Though the political disability is not patently visible, yet because of the economic dominance the upper caste do manage to pull the strings in their favour. Thus caste class identity is uncertain feature of the area, although it has now a certain level of penetration on account of the influence of social movements, political forces and administrative reforms. However, the intervention of these factors in the reorganization of process does not readily alter the caste class association.

The noticeable feature was the continuation of the process of change that had started sometimes in 20s. The entry to places of worship, the right to get service facilities from different places has come to be an acknowledged fact. To proceed further from this to break the caste class association, a new set of programmes geared to availability of better opportunities for economic attainments of the lower caste would complete the process.

Unfortunately the lower castes were unanimous in their view
hearing
that they were about lot many efforts done by
government in regard to their economic amelioration, the
benefits were not percolating to them. This was more than
amply illustrated when almost all of them in spite of the
various programmes of government, were intended to higher
caste Hindus where rate of interest varied from 60% to
180% per annum. Almost all their assets were mortgaged to
the higher caste Hindus. This throttling effect pervades
throughout their activities and their living conditions in
spite of lessening of social disabilities, remain unchanged.
It has to be recognised that the lower caste among Hindus
particularly suffer from the dual handicap of poverty
and social disabilities. The study in the Ward under
reference makes it amply clear that removal of social
disabilities alone will not break the caste - class
association.

Inter-Caste Relations in Village Jhanjhari,
District Karnal, Haryana

- R.K. Takkar

Jhanjhari is a small village located on Sher Shah Suri Marg (National Highway 1) to the North of Karnal at a distance of about 9 (nine) Kms. Nilokheri, the Block Headquarters, lies 6 (six) Kms. farther North on the same Highway. The famous Tourist Complex of Karan Lake in village Uchana is situated at a distance of 1 (one) Km. towards Karnal.

2. It is a prosperous village. Whole of the cultivated land is irrigated by canal water and tube-wells. Impact of green revolution is evident from the high yields of main crops of rice and wheat and sugar cane as well as in the life style of the people.

3. It has a primary school, a veterinary centre, and a cooperative credit society. Nearest dispensary, bank, post office, and a high school are only 1 Km. away at Uchana. The nearest Degree College is available at Karnal, the District Headquarters.

4. Population of the village according to 1971 Census was 874. It consists of 212 households belonging to the following castes :

Rors	=	70
Brahmins	=	07
Khatri	=	05
Lohars	=	09
Dehs	=	35 - 40
Chamars	=	25
Balmikis	=	35
Charwahas	=	25
Jheever	=	01

212

5. Chamars and Balmikis and Dehs are included among the scheduled castes and the Charwahas as a Backward class. This village has a fair proportion of scheduled castes - 42% as against the average of 19% in Haryana State and 18% in Karnal District as per 1971 Census records. There are no scheduled tribes in the whole of Haryana. Out of 37 castes scheduled

in the State, only 4 castes have more than 50,000 population. Chamars and Balmikis are the two major castes constituting 53% and 20% of the total scheduled castes population in the State. Only 11 scheduled castes have a population of 10,000 or more. Dehs are included in the remaining 22 castes who have a small population each.

6. The village has two locations divided by the National Highway with the main inhabitation on its East. The Western location is exclusively inhabited by the Dehs, a migrant tribe who settled here some 30 (thirty) years ago on a plot of land given by the local Panchayat out of the village common land (Shamilat).

7. Physical planning of the main village follows caste lines. Rors and Brahmins live in the North East and Chamars and Balmikis and Charwahas in the South West. There is a sprinkling of Khatri families, petty traders refugees from Pakistan, who have occupied Muslim evacuee property.

8. It is an exclusively Hindu village with not a single Sikh or Muslim family.

9. The conclusions that follow are based on a field study conducted by the undersigned on behalf of the IIPA as a member of a group of eight trainees. The study conducted from 1.12.80 to 10.12.80. Although I did not live in the village for the whole period, most part of the working day for the above period was spent in talking to selected individuals as well as a cross-section of the people one encountered at random during the time spent in the village. The methodology followed could therefore be treated as a kind of 'participant observation'. The people specifically selected for a personal interview were those who held a certain position of authority in the village like the Sarpanch, members of the Panchayat, Numberdar, school teacher, or those who stand out from their caste group for a variety of reasons like the only chamar who is still working as a cobbler; blacksmiths who have opened mechanical workshops and an auto service station; a Balmiki educated youth who has opened a provision shop; Balmiki and Chamar youth who have joined Government service; or the only case of bonded labour in the village. It was not considered advisable to canvass a structured questionnaire for the sake of ensuring spontaneous responses from the persons interviewed.

Caste Hierarchy

10. Rors are the dominant caste both in sheer numbers and the ownership of sources and means of production. Almost all land in the village is held by them as owners. Members of other castes assist them in cultivation as wage earners and labourers. Land reforms have admittedly worked to the disadvantage of the chamars and Balmikis whose status has been reduced from that of tenants to landless labour. At the material time they were made to become accomplices to the tactics of their Ror landlords to get their names deleted from the land records where they had been recorded as tenants in order to pre-empt them from becoming owners of land. While Chamars and Balmikis and the Charwahas do own milch cattle, it is the Rors who own almost exclusively the farm cattle and the ploughs and the tractors and other agricultural machinery and implements. They constitute a majority in the local Panchayat. The Sarpanch and the Numberdar are Rors. The local MLA who is also a member of the State Council of Ministers, belongs to this village and is again a Ror.

11. Rors are the dominant castes in a number of neighbouring villages. They are one of the few major caste groups in Haryana, the other three being Rajputs, Jats and Gujars.

12. The Gazetteer of Karnal District, 1918 has this to say on Rors :

"Most of them date their origin from the neighbourhood of Badli, near Jhajjar in Rohtak, and there are traditions of a Tunwar Rajput as ancestor.....They have obtained their property in the District almost exclusively by being settled as cultivators to the original owners, generally Rajputs and Gujjars, who have since abandoned their villages or died out wholly or died in part. The Rajputs say that the Rors were originally Ods who used to dig the tanks at Thanesar. They themselves claim Rajput origin.....Socially they rank below Jats".

13. Dehs are the next caste group in the village in terms of numbers. They constitute the lowest in caste hierarchy, lower than even the Balmikis, the traditional sweepers. They live outside the main Abadi at a location divided by the National Highway. They are separated physically from the village not because of their low status but because they are

late settlers. They migrated from a neighbouring village some 30 years back. The only suitable land for their settlement was reportedly available at the present site. They do not own land or livestock. They earn their livelihood by the sale of "Chhaaj" (a winnowing machine made of reeds) to the residents of this village as also the neighbouring villages. They are not fully integrated with the village economy. They do not work as farm labourers. Their contact with the village economy is limited to sale of 'Chhaaj' and purchase of milk and daily provisions.

14. Chamars rank higher than the Balmikis and Dehs. They live in a separate block of houses at one of the two main entrances to the village. Most of these houses are 'Kacha'. None of them owns any land or farm cattle. They have given up their traditional profession of collection and treatment of animal skins, and making of footwear. Only one of them, Lal Singh, runs a cobbler shop across the G.T. road in a thatched hut. All the rest work as farm labour. Some of the young males have joined Government service.

15. Balmikis rank higher to Dehs only. But for this group of immigrant settlers, they would have been the lowest as expected. They do the dirty work in the farms, streets and homes. They also work as agricultural labourers. They live in a separate block of houses adjacent to the Chamar block. Most of their houses are Kacha. A number of their male members have joined Government service.

16. The Charwaha (Shepherd) families reside behind the Chamar and the Balmiki mohallas. They rear sheep and work as agricultural labourers. In the absence of any worthwhile grazing area in this irrigated tract, their flock is mostly stall-fed. They rank higher than the Dehs, Balmikis and Chamars.

17. The endogamous character of each caste remains intact. Marriage even between members of two clean castes is considered a disgrace. Any question on the possibility of a marriage between a member of a high caste and a member of the unclean castes meets with an amused sneer.

18. Ban on inter-dining with members of lower castes continues to be operative in its essentials. A Ror would feed a low caste menial working for him in his fields or home but many steps away from the kitchen. Members of the higher castes do not eat any cooked thing from Balmikis and Chamars. They do not condescend to join the latter at community dinners at the time of weddings etc. Surprisingly, Chamars have similar reservations in their interaction with the Balmikis.

19. Chamars and Balmikis have separate wells for the supply of drinking water. They know they are not expected to draw water from the well situated in the Ror mohalla. What is more extraordinary is that Chamars would consider it a case of pollution if a Balmiki were to draw a drink water from their well. In good old days when separate wells had not been provided for the Balmikis and the Chamars, they would place their pots at a respectable distance to be filled in by members of other castes or the Jheevars.

20. Some members of Chamar and Balmiki families stated they had on one or two occasions accompanied the marriage party of a Ror to another village and ate with others at the bride's house but all the Rors, when questioned, without an exception discounted this possibility.

21. Charpaies are pooled for a wedding and other ceremonies but only among one's own caste members. Even Chamars do not borrow the charpies belonging to Balmikis or the Balmikis from Dehs. Dehs do come to the wedding and other social functions not to participate but to eat as a kind of outside beggars.

22. A sign of changing times is that an overwhelming majority of high castes including the older generation has started feeling embarrassed by the rigidities of the traditional bans on inter-dining and the demands of maintaining a given social distance from members of the lower castes. For example, they displayed amused embarrassment over the fact that a Balmiki or a Chamar, working as a farm labourer, will be charged with the duties of harvesting the sugar cane crop, crushing it to make 'gur' (jaggery), and reaching the gur at the master's house. But once he has delivered it, he will be told to keep away from it lest it should get polluted. Similarly, it is the members of the lower castes who were engaged to dig the well for the Rors but once they had completed the work they were told to keep away lest its water should get polluted. All the village elders were openly making fun of an old man in his early seventies, Shri Ranu Singh, who is very punctilious in keeping himself at a safe distance from the polluting presence of the Harijans. He would go to the extent of not smoking a 'Hooka' if the burning charcoal in its 'chillam' had been filled by a Harijan. It is significant that his compatriots, his sons and grand-sons consider him a freak and suffer him as an incorrigible old man.

23. As the instances of 'gur' and the well mentioned above suggest, commensalism and other forms of social interaction between members of lower and higher castes are influenced by the economic interdependence of various sections of the

village community. The resulting inter-group behaviour represents an intelligent compromise based on mutual convenience which sacrifices a few non-essentials in order to preserve the substance of the system. Changes in the socio-economic life in recent years, since they have not really disturbed the relationship of economic interdependence of various castes, have only lent new manifestations to this compromise but have not changed any part of the core or the basic structure of the caste system. For example, the school children of all castes mix freely with each other during and sometime even after school times. They would not mind being taught by a Harijan teacher. They partake of the milk made out of milk powder (supplied free by the Government) in the same pot in the school premises. But back home, children of the higher castes are not allowed to eat with their friends and schoolmates belonging to the lower castes.

24. We came across an interesting evidence of this compromise in the manner in which the Rors handle an encounter with a Harijan Government employee. According to them a subordinate employee like a Patwari or a Panchayat Secretary is not a problem since he would let his low caste be known as soon as he assumes his duties and would not expect to dine with the members of the higher castes on an equal footing. In case the Government servant was well placed and/or on a casual visit to the village and about whose caste they are not sure, they would play safe by offering him a chair and not their 'Khat' (cot). Sharing your 'Khat' with someone has implications of equality but not offering a chair!

CASTE & ECONOMIC LIFE

25. A large majority of the residents of the village continue to follow their traditional occupations. This is not for want of a desire to diversify but for want of opportunities. Landless castes have exhibited a greater desire to avail of new opportunities offered by social and economic changes. It is an index of the growth in agricultural incomes that the land-owning caste has not shown much interest in seeking new occupational positions.

26. One major change relates to Chamars who have opted for agriculture in preference to collection of hides and skins and leather work. Proximity to an urban market, mechanization of treatment of hides and skins as well as shoe making, dis-economies of scale in the manufacture of footwear on an individual basis, larger employment opportunities offered by the green revolution seem to have combined to bring about this change. And that is how most of the Chamars themselves

- 1 -

perceive the change. It is quite likely that they have chosen to give up their ancestral occupation with a view to improving their social status but they do not say so.

27. Status is related to occupation. Cleaner the occupation, higher the status. A number of Balmikis have joined Government service and their status in their own village does not seem to have improved on this account. A Balmiki matriculate youth has opened a retail provision store in the Dehon Ka Dare i.e. the Western segment of the village across the G.T. road. Most of the Balmikis and Chamars questioned by us were keen to acquire land in the unlikely event of their having managed adequate savings for the purpose. All the Rors we interviewed stated that they would not mind selling their land to a Balmiki or a Chamar although they said if in the certain confidence that for many years to come none of them will be able to afford the high price at which land sells in the area.

28. Only one blacksmith family continues to perform its traditional occupation. The others have made good use of their skill and the new economic opportunities offered by mechanization of agriculture in opening the only mechanical workshops and automobile service station in the village.

29. The Jajmani system still exists with minor changes. Although the Brahmin priest has settled on land in a neighbouring village (Tarori) he has not given up his livelihood as a purohit to high castes residents of Jhanjhari. Similarly, the village barber has purchased land in village Uchana and lives there but he has not broken his ancestral relations with his patrons. He visits the village every evening for performing his customary services as a hair dresser to his 'jajmans' and whenever needed for ceremonies connected with marriages, births etc. Two of his brothers are employed as Patwaris and the third in the Army. Only one family of blacksmiths suffices for the village although it has grown in size over the years and the agricultural operations have become more exacting. Thus while the personal services of the priest and the barber continue to be relevant, the occupation of the blacksmith seems to have fallen a victim to the mechanization of agriculture. On all the days we visited the village, the blacksmith's furnace had not been charged even once. His claim to share of the crop at each harvest seems to rest now on undertaking occasional petty repairs to agricultural implements of the jajmans as well as the agricultural labour working in their fields.

30. The priest, the barber, the blacksmith, the jheever (water-drawer) are granted their customary share of the produce of land of their patrons at the time of each harvest.

31. The Brahmins in the village have ceased to perform priestly duties. Only one of them, who is basically Government employee in another village, acts as an occasional standby for the principal priest. Two Brahmin families own land which their ancestors are believed to have received as a gift on some ceremonial occasion. Other Brahmin families depend on Government service for their livelihood.

Caste and Power Relations

32. As already mentioned the Rors are the dominant caste in the village. They occupy this vantage position not in this village alone but in a number of surrounding villages. They satisfy almost all the tests prescribed by Shri M.N. Srinivas the originator of the concept of "dominant caste".

"A caste may be said to be dominant when it preponderates numerically over other castes and when it also wields preponderant economic and political power. A large and powerful caste group can more easily be dominant of its position in the local caste hierarchy is not too low".

(Srinivas 1955: 18)

In a later publication, Srinivas states that this definition omits the important element of 'the number of educated persons in a caste and the occupation they pursue'.

(Srinivas 1959: 1)

33. Their numbers are larger than those of any other individual caste. Their position in the hierarchy is higher than chamars, Balmikis and Dehs. Brahmins and Khattris are numerically insignificant. They hold all the agricultural land in the village. They have been able to bend the land reforms laws to their advantage in excluding the Chamar and Balmiki tenants from acquiring ownership rights. They hold all important positions of authority. Elections to Panchayat based on adult supper-age have failed to challenge their traditional leadership; the present Ror Sarpanch has held this office for the last 20 years or so. None of the Dehs, Balmikis, or Chamars is even considering the remote possibility of becoming a Sarpanch.

34. Although exact figures are not available, other castes do not seem to be doing too badly in acquiring school and college education. As stated elsewhere, one possible explanation is that Rors still find land as a dependable source of good living whereas the other castes look upon education as a means to Government jobs. The only doctor produced by the village is a Balmiki. 3-4 graduates produced by the village belong to one Ror family (that of the Minister) and are not representative of the educational attainments of the Rors as a caste group.

35. Members of all castes confirmed that they vote as a block in the General Elections to the State Assembly and the Lok Sabha. A view is taken on the eve of each election about the party and the candidate to be backed up. Thus political parties and processes seem to relate more to caste groups than individuals. While this phenomena partly explains why many Western theories of political organization and behaviour are not applicable to India, it also explains a peculiar Indian phenomenon of a politician surviving, and in fact flourishing, on frequent changes of party affiliations. But what is more disturbing is that the electoral process of a democratic polity, its emphasis on individual rights and human values notwithstanding, has resulted in the hardening rather than the weakening of caste distinctions.

36. Right to vote has, however, given a greater stature and confidence to members of the lower castes. They gloated over the fact that at least at the time of elections, the members of the higher castes come to them to solicit their votes which seemed to matter. Left to themselves, each individual member of a lower caste would have perhaps been more vulnerable to the pressures of the dominant caste because of his economic dependence. Voting as a caste group gave a greater punch to his importance as a voter and as an equal to members of the higher castes. It was also handy as a ploy against individual pressure from one's employers of higher castes.

37. But all said and done, the political process has only strengthened the age-old trend of higher castes making a compromise on peripheral matters so as to keep the nucleus intact. Members of higher castes do visit the Balmikis, Chamars and Dehs in their mohallas on the eve of elections but they do not eat with them. I put this question specifically to Balmikis and the Harijans whether the local M.L.A. who is a Ror from their own village had ever dined with them or eaten from their hands during or after an election campaign and the reply was invariably 'no'. Members of lower castes do mingle with the

crowds in political meetings; they have a representative on the local panchayat who sits on the same 'Khat' on which other members sit for the meetings of the local body; they stand in the same queue outside the polling both for exercising their franchise; but all this makes little difference to the relative status of castes, to bans on inter-dining and inter-marriages; to Harijans not being allowed to draw water from the Ror well. It is the tradition that is the winner in the power game. Some of the emancipated members of the higher castes give one the unmistakable feeling that they are helpless slaves of the caste structure and the status quo.

38. Why do they accept various caste restrictions? I put this question to all members of higher as well as lower castes, men as well as women, young as well as old. The question surprisingly seemed to baffle them. The caste hardly seemed to be a live issue with them. They had inherited them as part of a system in which they were born. They had not debated their merits or rationale. For them it was the natural scheme of things. Even members of the lower castes gave their ungrudging acceptance to this manifestly unjust matrix of social relationships and caste barriers. To a pointed question as to what would happen if a Balmiki were to draw water from the Ror well, they would say that such an eventuality was not likely to arise or else there was no need for it since the Balmikis had a well to themselves. It is this servile resignation to the status quo that lends both stability and tragedy to the inequitable Hindu social order. The villagers by and large still exhibit a touching faith about the role played by destiny in determining their station in life. Although caste group still seems to matter more than the individual in all matters social, economic and political, there are no signs of any potential caste struggle.

39. All admit that the rigours of the caste distinctions are not the same as they were 30-40 years ago but none has any illusion that the basic structure has changed. One could not therefore even entertain the comforting thought that the lower castes accept the system in the hope that it is changing in their favour. It is not that they suffer the storm in the hope that it will soon blow over!

40. Quite a number of Balmiki and Chamar Boys have successfully availed of reservations in Government service. Search for Government jobs is a search for economic security for the low caste families but the dominant caste seems to look upon the emerging scene from a different perspective. They are clear that their children have no need to compete

for these jobs because they find land and its cultivation a more plentiful source of status and livelihood. At the same time they were openly resentful of a system which favoured the lower castes. They would not say so but perhaps they are afraid of the possible threat to the established caste hierarchy and their dominance by the greater financial security and prestige that goes with Government jobs.

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PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

VILLAGE STUDY

Jhanjhari - Mainal District - Haryana.

"Perception of Development and Change"

by

S. C. ANAND

PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE

The village Jhanjhari is situated on the G.T. Road about 9 kms. from Karnal District Town of Haryana towards Ambala. The main village is located between the G.T. Road and the right bank of Western Jamuna Canal just beyond the Haryana Tourism Development Corporation's Tourist Camp Complex. A hamlet comprising of 35 to 40 houses is situated on the other side of the G.T. road called "Dehon ka Dera" or Chhoti Jhanjhari. The total area of the village according to land revenue records is 624 acres. The total population as per the 1971 census was 874. The village has a primary school and a village panchayat. Two main communities constitute the majority population of the village - the Rors and the Harijans. The Harijans are sub-divided into three castes - Chamars, Balmikis and Dehs - named in the descending order of caste hierarchy. Rors constitute the dominant caste - being in majority and more affluent economically as they are the land owning cultivators. Harijans are predominantly landless labourers. The caste-wise distinction of the village is as given below:

Ror	..	70	households
Brahmans	..	7	"
Lohar	..	9	"
Chauriya	..	25	"
Balmiki	..	35	"
Chamar	..	25	"
Deh	..	35	"
Khatrri	..	5	"
Jhevar	..	1	"
		-----	Total 212

2. The village has a co-operative credit society and the nearest village dispensary is at Uchana village - about two kms. away. There is no temple in the village. It, however, shares a temple with village Dadupur with Shiva as the main deity. The village also has a number of small worship chowkis of various Devis belonging to the different castes. The main village market and other infrastructural facilities are available at the nucleus village of Shamgarh situated at a distance of 6 kms. towards Ambala from Jhanjhari. Recently, a veterinary dispensary has been established close to the hamlet, Dehon ka Dera, with a whole time veterinary doctor and the unit also serves as a cattle breeding unit. There are neither Muslims nor Sikhs in the village. Only five Khatrri families of displaced persons from West Pakistan live in the village. These families are petty traders running shops of provisions and other general merchandise. There are a few carpenters and blacksmiths also. One Minister in the Haryana Government - Shri Shivram Verma - hails from this village. The land is

irrigated - main source of irrigation being tubewells. Village lanes are paved with bricks while the main road connecting the village with the G.T. road is tarred. The village is electrified and there are 32 tube-wells, and a number of hand-pumps in the village. There are many pucca houses mostly belonging to Rors but a few belong to Chamars and Balmikis also. The Village being in close proximity to Karnal, depends mostly on the District Town for infrastructural support.

3. The aspirations and perceptions were deduced from memory of the conversations and rough notes made immediately after various visits to the village. The perceptions of change are divided into the following categories -
(1) Social (2) Economic and (3) Political.

4. Social:

4.1 All the subjects held a clear view that ties and distinctions of castes are heading towards liberalisation generally but perceptibly and definitely. The higher castes, i.e. Rors, Brahmins and Khatrias feel that gone are the days of rigid caste distinctions so far as pollution is concerned. They do not mind using utensils etc. touched by lower castes. However, they have separate wells and most of them go to the extent of playing safe by offering chairs to those whose caste is doubtful instead of charpoys. Harijan is not offered to lower castes. Even when we were invited to the Sarpanch's house for tea, he gave tea to all of us in cups but did not join us in tea drinking. This he avoided with all diplomacy at his command - possibly because he was not sure about the castes of all of us. They all felt that with growing interaction with different people and travelling in buses, etc. it is not possible to practise untouchability. Moreover, they are conscious of the legal abolition of untouchability. This view was confirmed by lower castes, i.e. Chamars, Balmikis or Dehs. Chamars are not willing to allow Balmikis or Dehs to use their well. One old Chamar aged about 80 years passing through the lane, where Balmikis were being interviewed, stood and commented, after overhearing our conversation, "why should we allow the Balmikis to use our well when we are not allowed to use the wells belonging to higher castes?"

4.2 Harijans are invited to the weddings of higher castes, sometimes, and are offered food, but they do not reciprocate by inviting them. In the school, untouchability is not practised. The Lohars receive annual payment in grains from farmers for which they even go to the houses of the high caste farmers to do or collect work, while they work free of charge for Harijans. Harijans, however, have to go to the Lohars for their jobs to be done. On being asked as to why did he work free ~~for~~ for the Harijans, the old Lohar's reply was in the form of a counter question that if he did not do their work, who else would do it?

4.3 They do not have a temple of their own. Those wishing to worship have to go to the next village to worship Lord Shiva at Dadupur. There is one Syed's grave and a few places for worshipping the Devi in and around the village. Some devotees light a lamp at the Syed's grave on Thursdays and others worship the Devis either on auspicious occasions of weddings, child birth and for giving "fiannats", etc. For big festivals like Dussehra, etc., the villagers go to Karnal. They do not hold any fairs, etc. at the village.

4.4 In the field of education, there is an increasing trend of more children from lower castes going to the school than from higher caste families - boys as well as girls. On enquiring the reason for this trend, the reply of the higher castes was that since lower caste people are all landless labourers, they do not have anything to fall back upon and are keen to receive education and improve their lot while higher caste children are conscious of the family land holdings, they tend to drop out of the school and adopt agriculture as a profession early in life. While more boys go in for higher education beyond primary level for which they have to go either to Karnal or Shangarh, there are hardly any girls doing so. The reply to the question as to why do they give even primary education to their daughters, the Sampanch replied "In order to find a better bridegroom".

4.5 There are only 3 or 4 graduates from the village, all male, 10 or 12 matriculates and 4 or 5 pre-university level educated boys. There is no girl educated beyond primary level. The villagers voiced a criticism of the quality of education imparted in the village school as well as other educational institutions run by Government even at Karnal. The main reasons for this criticism were two-

- (1) Female teachers are not as good as male teachers;
- (2) Anything run by the Government tends to become increasingly inefficient.

The lower castes confirmed their preference for educating their children because they feel that education is likely to improve their social and economic status by getting them jobs. There is no adult education programme being run at the village.

4.6 A general trend in lower castes and working classes like barbers and lohars, etc. has been noticed by one son of the family following the traditional occupation while others take to service, agriculture or business. It was noticed in one Balmiki family that Father, who is a

retired Army Jawan, works as a school chowkidar at a nearby village, one son who is a matriculate after trying his hand at service with a cooperative society and fishing lease in the village fishery pond, has taken to a petty shop at Dehon Ka Dera, one son is a Charwaha and another a landless labourer. Their womenfolk also work as labourers at the fields owned by higher castes and are paid in cash or in grains. Similarly, one Lohar family had the old father along with one of the sons running the old smithy shop in the village while two other sons have started Motor and Tractor repair shops near the G.T. Road outside the village. The village barber has been able to purchase 10 killaas of land in a nearby village. He continues with his traditional occupation by visiting the village every day and serving the villagers at marriages by going as a representative of the Bride's family. He is paid in grains for his traditional services of shaving and hair cutting and in cash or kind, according to the customs, for marriages. His two sons are in service while one cultivates the land so purchased.

4.7 Women of the lower caste families are generally more communicative and articulate. They did not display inhibitions in talking freely even about subjects which normally would be taboo in village societies. They are forthcoming in information about their social, religious, political and economic life and practices. Even views about family planning were freely expressed. The midwives from lower castes are accepted freely by higher castes. So were their services for digging and ~~lining~~ lining wells. Immediately after completion of the wells, lower castes were debarred from using them. The women were very clear and unanimous in their expression. "Higher castes do not discriminate against us where it suits them. Since at the time of child birth they cannot do without the services of a lower caste midwife, no untouchability is practised at that time". Some of them expressed satisfaction at their husbands having been operated upon for vasectomy after a number of childbirths. They do not practice any other means of contraception. Some males mentioned that most of them were operated upon during emergency. On being asked whether any young eligible male was forcibly operated upon who did not have more than two children, their reply was in the negative. Why then were they critical of the operations, brought a reaction that it was an emergency excess, though only those who had a large number of children were operated upon and there were no post-operative complications.

4.8 Besides the village panchayat, the caste panchayats also meet occasionally to decide matters pertaining exclusively to the caste. The penalty of stopping somebody's "Hukka Paani" is rare now. Once or twice, inter-caste marriages were discussed at such panchayats in living

memory. They ended up with admonitions against such actions.

5. Economic:

5.1 The general impression gathered from the village was that the economic condition of higher castes and economically better off farmers has lately deteriorated while lower castes and economically backward landless labourers have improved their lot. This has been attributed to comparatively faster rate of inflation in the cost of agricultural inputs than that of the agricultural products. The entire families of the landless work while in ~~xxx~~ higher castes, only males constitute the work force. According to the Bors, the Harijans receive Rs.10 per day for each worker. This was contradicted by the Harijans who stated that while males were paid @ Rs.7 to Rs.8 per day, womenfolk received only around Rs.5 to Rs.6 per day. This too was seasonal earning during agricultural seasons of sowing and harvesting, etc. There is no part-time village industry in the village. Most of the professional workers like Lohar, Charwaha and Barber, etc. are paid in kind at the harvest time in the form of grains. The landless communities confirmed that their economic position had improved over the last decade or so.

5.2 The Dehs make "Chhaaj" for separating grains from chaff. They buy the thin pith sticks called "Poo" @ Rs.60 per quintal and pluck thick pith stick called "Sarkanda" from the canal banks. Another raw material used is nylon tying string. Mostly womenfolk make the Chhaaj and men go around selling them. The cost of production is around Rs.2.50 per piece while they are able to realise between Rs.4 and Rs.6 per piece. The demand continues throughout the year but it is the highest at harvest time. The entire community of Dehs appeared to be satisfied with their lot. They are able to save at a higher rate now than they used to earlier. Some of them also trade in textiles like bedsheets and handloom fabrics. Generally, the earning is higher in the trade than in selling Chhaaj. More and more of the Dehs are interested in switching over to cloth business in due course. The only constraint is finance. A few members of each family go in for cloth trade while others stick to Chhaaj. They do not appear to be enthusiastic about adopting agriculture. One of them who expressed his half-hearted willingness to go in for cultivation was sharply contradicted by his aggressive wife, a mother of 11 children. Their demands are registration deeds of Shamlat land given to them by the village panchayat for residential plots, finance for construction of pucca houses, electrification of their residences and resources for cloth trade.

5.3 The Balmiki families also feel more comfortable financially, lately. There are a number of pucca houses

in their Mohalla. One of them is a practising Homeopath and lives in a pucca house. He practices medicine in another village. The trend of more and more males seeking employment outside the village is noticeable. Women and children did not betray the traditional look of being under-nourished. One Balmiki Boy who had passed his matriculation in 1974 expressed his dissatisfaction at his economic lot. On being cross-questioned, he revealed a different picture. He had secured a job in a cooperative society through a politician friend. The job ended with the politician's death. Subsequently he obtained lease of the village pond for rearing fish. Failure of the fish crop due to non-availability of water made him abandon that project. Now he runs a petty grocery shop at Dehon ka Dera. The question if he would like to accept a job now brought forth a negative reply. He is interested in finances to expand his business at the shop. The village Sarpanch termed him as a useless person, not interested in working anywhere. He informed that this boy did not stick to his job with the cooperative society nor did he pay attention to his fishing lease. Village Panchayat wrote off all charges from him. The Sarpanch doubted if he would seriously apply himself to his shop too, even if finances were arranged.

5.4 The Khatri families migrated from West Punjab at the time of partition. They started petty shops of grocery and other general merchandise. In due course, they appear to have done reasonably well. They live in pucca houses and the number and size of the shops have multiplied. Their children receive education and go out for jobs.

5.5 The Bors are mainly dependent upon agriculture. They complain of declining earnings from their lands, though still they continue to be socially and economically affluent. A Minister in the Haryana Government hails from this village. His house shows maximum affluence-constructed as well as furnished, comparable to houses at Karnal. There are a few more houses of the same type, all belonging to Bors.

5.6 Only one case of a bonded labourer was noticed in this village. He is a Balmiki working at the Minister's house for the last 10 years. This he claimed to be in return for Rs.1000 which he had borrowed. He gets paid @ Rs.1800 per annum in cash or in foodgrains. The interest charged is according to him, at a fair rate. He also feels that he perhaps would not find an alternative job even at the present rate of earnings. The outstanding amount of interest plus principal is stated to be more than Rs.6000. He does not know the upto date account. He feels aggrieved of being forced to work though he is not sure whether he would be better off if he gave up this job. He and his family openly resented at being treated like this by the Minister. On being asked since when did he start feeling aggrieved by the situation his reply was "Recently". "Was it after the gentleman became a Minister?". The reply was "No". He resented his lot even earlier.

5.7 There is an increasing number of Transistor radios in the village. Even the Dehs, economically and socially most backward have around 15 transistors in 35 to 40 households. They mostly listen to popular music and sometimes to news also. Many of them have wrist watches. There is only one T.V. set in the village at the Minister's residence. All houses, except those at Dehon-ka-Dera, are electrified. Village roads are black-topped and lanes are brick-paved. Mostly the drains are kutchra ones. The village cooperative credit society had given ~~xxx~~ 275 loans as on date, 225 to agriculturists and 50 to non-agriculturists. Agriculturists are advanced crop loan @ Rs.200 per acre plus Rs.600 in kind as fertilisers. Rate of interest is 11% if repaid within 6 months and 13% thereafter. Non-agriculturists' loans are subject to a maximum of Rs.1000 while artisans can get a loan upto Rs.2000 for purchase of machinery and raw materials against two sureties. Period of repayment is six months and the interest rate is 21%.

5.8 For marketing their agricultural produce, they go either to Sharnagar Mandi or to Karnal.

C. Political:

C.1 Most of the voting takes place on the basis of decision taken by caste elders. The villagers display a high degree of political consciousness. Low castes like Dehs, Balmikis and Chamars stated that at election times, high castes were prepared to touch their feet. That is the time to extract due benefits, for after elections, nobody bothers. One of them stated that the Minister had kept his TV set at the outer verandah of his house where entire village was free to witness the programmes. Immediately after the elections, the TV set was shifted to a room inside the house and no outsiders are allowed.

C.2 The untried Balmiki boy running a petty shop at Dehon ka Dera ran for panchayat elections, but lost. He did not attribute his defeat to any unfair practice. The Panch from Dehon ka Dera displayed awareness of the National and State politics. He felt proud in stating that he had obtained a number of benefits for his community during the Janata regime and is capable of obtaining further benefits from the Congress (I) as well. Despite an undercurrent of criticism and resentment against the Minister, the entire village showed feelings ranging from satisfaction to pride at contributing a Minister from the village. Though, they are still waiting for any special benefits that might accrue to the village.

C.3 The Sarpanch has occupied this position for a number of years. He is respected and cared for, by people generally.

Those who did not show inclination to communicate with us when we went to the village without him were cooperative in his presence. He showed ample shrewdness and tact in his conversation with our group. Once, while talking to us, he was signalled by a villager to go aside. He excused himself and reappeared after fifteen minutes or so. On being asked about the reason for his absence, he explained that a friend was summoned by the court and was reluctant to receive the summons. He was, therefore, required to go and persuade the police constable to write back that the summons could not be served. To a question whether only persuasion did the trick or some monetary transaction was also involved, he smiled meaningfully, only hesitantly adding that usual things had to be done.

4 Village women, specially those from the landless and the lower castes, displayed remarkable knowledge and consciousness of State and national political scene. They sounded very confident of their political rights and were not worried about politicians not bothering for their election time promises, later. Their remarks about such events were rather jocular and matter of fact. Much sarcasm was not evident. Most of them take recommendations for getting concessions and favourable decisions as normal. Such recommendations and influences are often tried at political level. At bureaucratic levels other lubricants at lower rungs are taken as normal. Higher bureaucracy is credited with fairness although with less effectiveness due to the effectiveness of the first two types of influences. Political rights are normally exercised on mass voting patterns according to decisions taken at the caste panchayats. Bitterness due to political rivalries was not noticed.

... ..

Perception of Development and Change

Aralamallige

(Bangalore Group)

Roll No.601

Perception of Development and Change

What changes have taken place in our villages in the last fifteen to twenty years and how are these changes viewed by our people in the villages? Do the perceptions of people belonging to different castes, economic, social, educational levels differ and if so in what manner? To whom have the fruits of planning and development gone?

These are weighty questions when a nation sets out on a development path and would want to make mid-course corrections. To improve the standard of living of the millions of our rural people, and in particular to provide the minimum basic necessities to the weaker sections of our people is one of the most important tasks facing the nation today. To do all this in a democratic manner and in a manner that would preserve all that is good in our ancient culture makes the task one of the most difficult in the history of man.

Perhaps no general answers valid for the entire country may be found. Perhaps the answers vary with the languages and cultures of the various regions of this sub-continent.

The humble aim of the present study is to find out how people in one village, Aralamallige, in the Karnataka State, view these issues.

Objective: Broadly, the objective of the study is to understand the perception of rural households in the village towards development and change. Obviously, such an exercise would require an analysis of relationships of age, education, caste, socio-economic status, land-holdings, size of family, overall behaviour and their capacity to take risks. In addition to these, the aspiration for the type of occupation, income, agricultural production, possession of agricultural implements and other assets, livestock, etc. have to be studied. In this regard all that is improvement which reflects their perception about changes in any one of these.

Methodology: The following methodology was adopted for the conduct of the study.

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Methodology: The following methodology was adopted for the conduct of the study.

Selection of the village: The selection of the village is mainly based on two criteria: (i) availability of time-series data to understand changes, if any, in the socio-economic status of the households and changes in the agricultural, livestock and credit situations and (ii) as far as possible to select a village representative of the cultural and linguistic region so as to be able to generalize to the extent possible. Village Aralamallige is one of the villages on the Deccan Plateau studied by the Census Organization in 1961 and data as on that date are available to facilitate study of change.

As villages in Karnataka go, it tends to be on the large side. It is located at a distance of 5 KM from Doddaballapur, the taluk headquarters, on the Nelamangla-Doddaballapur road.

Selection of sample households: A random sample of 38 households was drawn. A stratified sampling was also made to ensure cross-sectional caste, occupation, size of landholding and income, representation in the sample.

Method of Inquiry: Since the topic "perception of development and change" demands an in-depth study of not only socio-economic status of the sample households but also attitudinal study, therefore, the method of inquiry also consisted of (1) a questionnaire to study socio-economic status and change (2) lead questions put to the participants so as to elicit their attitudes and perceptions of development and change and (3) discussions with the elders and village leaders and local functionaries (4) study of village, block and district revenue and Census records giving time series data.

Constraints: Since the time at our disposal was short, the size of the sample was restricted. To the extent possible changes during the last twenty years were noted and efforts made to understand the perceptions of the different sections of people to those changes.

CHAPTER - II

AREA PROFILE

Location and population: The village is located 5 km off Doddaballapur, which is 13°18' north latitude and 77°26' east longitude to the north-west of Bangalore City. The population of the village, according to 1971 Census, is 1436 of which 764 are males and 672 females. The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes population accounts for 147 and 130 respectively in the total population. The growth of population has been as follows:

Year	Total	Males	Females
1901	634	316	318
1911	631	320	311
1921	680	367	313
1931	770	405	365
1941	809	430	379
1951	1010	539	471
1961	1300	670	630
1971	1436	764	672

There has been a gradual increase in population upto 1941. In the 1940s and 50s there has been a substantial increase followed by a more gradual increase in the 60s and 70s.

Literacy: The villagers are fairly educated. Out of the total population of males and females, 418 (54.7%) males and 222 (33.0%) females are either literates or have received formal education. The literacy in Bangalore district is 42.72% (51.33% for males and 33.26 for females) and in Karnataka State it is 31.52% (41.62 for males and 20.97 for females).

Workers and Non-workers: Out of this total population of 1436 persons, 496 males and 141 females are workers as against 268 males and 531 females who are non-workers according

to the 1971 Census. The cultivators and agricultural labourers constitute the majority of workers. However, manufacturing, processing, servicing and repair along with trade and commerce have a small number of workers. Incidentally, 32 workers come from other services category alone.

Caste and occupational distribution: The Vokkaligas, Telugu Banajigas and Kurubas are the three major caste groups in the village, there being no single dominant caste. Out of a total 95 males and 4 females of Vokkaligas households, 88 males and 3 females were found to be engaged in agriculture. The same pattern is also seen in Telugu Banajiga and Kuruba households. However, the majority of the scheduled castes of Adi Karnatakas and Adi Dravidas are engaged as agricultural labourers. More scheduled caste households are owner cultivators now, compared to 1961.

Land-use pattern: According to the village panchayat and block records, the total geographical area of the village is 1863.18 acres. The cultivable land is 1084.03 acres. However, out of this cultivable land, 61.9% area is dry land and 29.5% area is wet land or area under irrigation. Garden land comprises of about 8.5% of the cultivable land (92.6 acres). The village has got a tank whose bed area is 462.26 acres. The remaining area comprises of the area of the tank gunduthoppu, area of the burial ground etc. Uncultivable land accounts for 235.01 acres. The land use is as follows:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Cultivated land	1084.0	58.2
Garden (Thota)	92.6	5.0
Wet	320.1	17.2
Dry	671.4	36.0
Non-agricultural	544.4	29.2
Uncultivable	235.1	12.6

Irrigation: According to 1971 Census, 413 acres of land is under irrigation either through wells or tank. The unirrigated area comprises of 671 acres. The major source of irrigation as is evident is tank. However, now some more wells have also come to stay as an important source of irrigation. Out of the 46 in existence, 40 wells have been energised through electric pump sets.

The prosperity and well-being of this village is largely dependent on rainfall and on the availability of water in the tank and in these wells. In fact, it was stated by the respondents that whenever the tank is full, life in the village is happy, prospects brighter and yields sufficient to take care of day-to-day needs. However, unfortunately over the last 4 years there had been drought when not only the tank was dry, as at the time of inquiry but water tables in the wells have also receded bringing hardship, unemployment and shortage of food and fodder. The rainfall in the village has been as follows:

1971	1146.8 (mm)	1976	664.2 (mm)
1972	698.3	1977	972.9
1973	986.4	1978	740.3
1974	997.4	1979	879.2
1975	1251.6	1980	667.4

The 671.4 acres of dry land forming 61.9% of the total cultivated area includes 184 acres irrigated by wells. Though this irrigation is the most stable and two to three crops can be raised annually, the land still stands classified as dry land in the village revenue records. A contributing factor to the agony of drought had been the over-exploitation of the available sub-soil water. In fact, it appears that due to the unfavourable ecological situation and scanty rainfall over a period of time, the underground aquifers have not been replenished, and so the steady fall in water table. Also, the tank seems to be a major contributing factor for recharging the wells and this has not been filled for four years.

In fact it is interesting to note that the area under Ragi shows constantly increasing trend. Over the period of the last 20 years or so, Maize also found a place as a crop in the village. The area under paddy and sugarcane presents a fluctuating trend. This seems to be due to the fluctuation in price. It appears that whichever was more remunerative was taken up at the expense of the other.

Climate: The village which is situated 900 meters above the sea level has an average temperature of 23.6°C - 37.2°C during April, but as low as 12.2°C in December and January.

Livestock situation: According to village records, the total number of cattle in the village is 839. The establishment of milk chilling plant at Doddaballapur and the village being put on the milk route, have sufficiently enthused the households to go in for improved variety of milch cattle, particularly Jersey breed of cows and Murra buffaloes. However, as has been stated earlier, due to scanty and erratic rainfall, which even at the best of times is concentrated to 30 rainy days in a year yielding average rainfall of 709.1 mm, at the time of scarcity the households find it difficult to provide proper fodder for the cattle. The village has very little earmarked pasture land as such.

Social Facilities: The village is connected with Bangalore and is located on Doddaballapur-Nelamangala-Bangalore road. The nearest railway station is at Doddaballapur which is 5 km away from the village.

The village enjoys postal facilities. It has got a branch Post Office (Please see photo 1). The clearance frequency of the mail is once a day. However, the telegraph and telephone facilities are available at Doddaballapur. Now, Savings Bank deposit facility is also available with the post office.

Education: The village has got a primary school and a middle school providing education from Std. I to VII. The High School and College are also not very far. The High School and the Kongadiappa College are 3 km from the village.

Electrification: The village was electrified a couple of decades ago and now nearly 85% of the wells and 60% of the houses are electrified.

The community development services are available in the village. There is a village Panchayat centre, a Bhajan Kirtan Mandal and an adult education centre in the village. In the field of health and veterinary coverage, there is a Health Centre with first-aid facilities and a qualified nurse who is also qualified to attend to maternity needs of the village. However, a full-fledged hospital is located at Doddaballapur. As regards veterinary coverage, the village is provided with a stockman assistant centre manned by a stockman assistant who provides first-aid and life saving drugs to the cattle. There are six temples in the village, of which the Channakesava temple is more than 600 years old. Inscription to this effect was

also found before this temple (Please see photograph). Number of shops and dwelling-cum-shops in the village account for 11 and 13 respectively. The village has the facilities of street lights and drains. Many of its streets are paved with stones. The village has half a dozen hotels which not only cater to the needs of households in the village but also serve snacks and beverages (tea and coffee) to the passengers from adjoining villagers who come to avail the facility of bus etc. The bus service is frequent and adequate.

CHAPTER - III

Socio-economic characteristics of the sample households.

Out of a total number of 38 sample households interviewed, Vokkaligas comprise of 10 numbers, the next higher category of respondents come from scheduled castes whose number in the sample household is 6. In fact as was stated earlier, the castes Vokkaligas, Kurubas and Banajigas are the major castes mainly engaged in agriculture as owner-cultivators.

Average family size: The castes Lingayat and Banajigas have bigger average family size (8) than the Vokkaligas and scheduled castes (7). The average family size of the lone Brahmin household was found to be one. The Acharis and Bedas have smaller average family size of a 4 members only.

Age group: Age group of the family members in a household is an important indicator of potential availability of additional hands in employment and also different age groups reflect different perceptions e.g. if the domination of the younger age group is there in a family, the family may tend to be more enterprising, more risk taking and keen to learn about new practices. However, exceptions might and are there. The caste of the total sample household according to the age group (Refer Table 1) show that Vokkaligas and Lingayats have dominance of persons in the age group of 36-45, 46-55 and above. However, the dominance of the younger age group in the castes Banajigas, Acharis and Uppars is found to be more.

Occupational distribution: The main occupation of Vokkaligas, Kurubas and Banajigas is found to be agriculture. However, the occupation of scheduled castes and Bedas is mainly agricultural labour. As discussed in the earlier Chapter, the village offers adequate employment opportunity in other spheres also because of its proximity to Doddaballapur; about 18 persons are found to be employed in silk weaving industry in that town. In fact, out of 227 workers from 38 sample households, 73 are found to be engaged in agriculture, 32 as agricultural labour and 122 in service, non-agricultural labour, etc.

Literacy: It is really encouraging to note that out of 234 members from the 38 household, 127 i.e. 54.2% of the members are found to be literate. The literacy among the Vokkaligas, Brahmins and Banajigas is found to be more than average. Out of 127 literates, 19 persons have received education upto S.S.L.C. and more. Further, Vokkaligas have 9 such persons out of the 19 who have obtained education upto SSLC or higher.

Size of land holding: The size of land holdings of Vokkaligas was found to be more than the holdings of other castes. In case of 10 households of Vokkaligas in the sample, 4 households have land holdings of more than 10 acres. The size of the land holding of the scheduled castes in the village is found to be small and almost all of them barring one household own land less than 2 acres. A similar pattern is also reflected in the case of irrigation. However, it is encouraging to note that around 70% of the land is under irrigation (Please refer Table 5).

Assets: Table 7 shows that Vokkaligas and Banajigas are in possession of more assets than any other caste households. The assets which have been classified into farm assets and non-farm assets reveal that a majority of Vokkaligas have livestock worth upto Rs. 5000/-. Their non-farm assets in three cases is about Rs. 10,000/-. Understandably, the assets of Bedas and of scheduled castes are found to be fewer. It is interesting to note that a majority of Bedas and scheduled castes have not effected any property transaction or have acquired any asset during the last one year.

Type of houses: With a view to ascertain the living conditions of the sample households questions regarding the type of household occupied and water supply was asked and

observations made (Table 2). The majority of households in the village do not have water facility within the premises of the house. The Vokkaligas and Lingayat households in general have houses built with stone, burnt or unburnt bricks. However, most of the scheduled castes have mud and bamboo built houses. As far as electric facility is concerned, 90% of the Vokkaligas' houses are found to be electrified whereas most of the scheduled castes' houses do not have electricity. It is notable here that though electricity came into the village a couple of decades ago, still around 30-40% of the households in the village do not have electric connections.

Perceptions of the sample households

Perception towards Government: It is a matter of great importance for the Government to know how its role is perceived by the people. Also, important for the administration to know is how their efforts at development are perceived. In this connection which is the most sought after office or institution is also important. The sample households when probed have pinpointed certain attributes of a good government. They are (1) equal treatment of all castes (2) freedom from corruption (3) 'good administration' (avoiding delays etc.) (4) control of prices and (5) taking benefits to the downtrodden etc. It is really interesting to find that most of the households have indicated the need for a 'good administration'. They are not however able to specify what the 'good administration' consists in. To the sample, avoiding possible delays, better treatment, better law and administration are some of the qualities which contribute to good administration. It is also interesting to note that it is Vokkaligas and Lingayats and not scheduled castes who call for equal treatment to all castes. Some of the respondents have also said they really do not have a clear idea of the role of Government. Fortunately their number is just 5.

When asked to opine on the administration of Karnataka State as to whether the administration is development oriented, neutral or deteriorating 5 years ago and hence, the respondents' perceptions do not vary. In fact, out of 38 respondents, 22 view the State Government as development-oriented, 12 considered it indifferent i.e. neither it is development oriented nor has it deteriorated and 2 were of the view that the administration has deteriorated earlier and they are sure that the same would prevail 5 years hence. There is no significant difference between the perceptions of the economically advanced and the weaker castes of the sample. In fact, it is not that

development would not take place during coming years but that the views of the people are of paramount importance to a democratic Government (Table 19).

Further the respondents were also asked about the attitude of the Government officials when approached. Significantly, 18 out of 38 respondents viewed the attitude of the Government officials as helpful, 6 viewed it as not helpful, 3 viewed the officials as corrupt. 5 out of the 6 who considered Govt. officials as not helpful belonged to the higher castes of Vokkaligas (1), Lingayats (2) and Banajigas (2). Only 1 out of 6 scheduled caste households considered officials as unhelpful. 7 out of 38 respondents have expressed their dissatisfaction with the attitude as they were requested to make repeated visits to get their work done. It is possible that some of the sample households either do not have occasion to meet Government officials or that the occasions to meet them were too few to form an opinion.

One of the questions which was put to the respondents regarding the type of career to be adopted by his son also highlights that more of the respondents view the Government job as a prestigious one. In fact, 8 respondents want their sons to go into service, 4 want to send their sons for higher education and only 5 are planning a career of agriculture for their sons.

Solving rural problems: When the sample respondents were asked to identify as to who should solve their problems, an overwhelming majority, numbering 32 have signed out Government as the institution which should solve their problems. The second largest set of respondents, numbering 5, think Panchayat should solve all their rural problems. The much-cherished ideas about shramdan and self-help do not appear to have made much of an impact on the sample households. In fact, only one respondent out of 38 feels that self-help and local efforts only can solve their problems.

Plan of action to improve the village: The sample households were asked whether it is desirable to have a plan of development for the village and if so, what such plan should include. This question was largely taken as one intended to identify their problems. Table 17.4 indicates that 8 respondents want an assured water supply for drinking to improve the quality of life of the respondents. Other activities which attracted their attention were construction activities, more of education etc. whereas a sizeable portion of the sample households (Table 16) do not have an idea regarding improvement of the village, 3 wanted to improve the village in a wholesome manner.

Attitude towards social facilities:

Medical facilities and Hygiene: Table 10 shows sample households classified by caste and medical facilities and hygiene. Out of a total number of 38 respondents, 21 had to seek help of a private medical practitioner at the time of their own or families' illness. Out of those who have consulted private physicians, 19 say that the attitude of the doctor was cooperative. In fact the village does not have the facilities of a hospital. The respondents going to Government doctor in the village are few. 27 respondents felt that medical help is essentially required in the village. They also no longer believe in native and herbal drugs and medicare. Therefore, they view that the medical facilities in the village are quite inadequate. 25 respondents have said so.

In order to obtain information about their concept of hygiene and way of life of the villagers some questions like whether they were using the toilet soap, toothpaste, washing clothes with soaps etc. were asked. It is interesting that whereas washing of clothes with soap is regularly done and practised by 36 out of the 38 respondents in the village belonging to various castes, only 33 used soap and hair oil for their bath. The common hair oil used is castor oil which appears to have been used for generations. It was also noticed that villagers have taken to nylon and terrycot clothes besides cotton. In fact 36 households were found to be using terrycot and nylon clothes besides cotton. 14 of them iron their clothes also and 19 of them are using even cosmetics. The foot wear also seems to be popular. 32 respondents were found to be using chappals and shoes. However, the use of chappals and shoes is occasional and generally people wear it when they have to make social calls, visit places or in leisure time. In the scheduled caste families chappals were worn mostly by the heads of households, even women agricultural labourers going barefooted.

Electricity and water: The respondents were asked about the use of electricity, water supply and the possession of assets contributing to a better standard of living like a wrist watch, clock, kerosene stove, radio, gramophone, etc. 25 sample households were found electrified and on the average 2.5 bulbs are used per house. Maximum use of electricity is seen to be made by Vokkaligas. There is no provision for water taps in the village. Therefore almost all the sample households draw water from open wells or the borewell for their drinking, washing etc. It was informed that if the village tank is full some people also take their baths and wash clothes in the tank.

Cycles: Out of the total of 38 sample households, 21 possess bicycles, 15 of them have torch lights, 4 of them have kerosene stoves and 14 of them own radio sets.

Type of worship and marriage practices:

Table 4 shows the sample households classified by type of worship, taking vows and marriage practices. The village population is still by and large religious. All the sample households expressed faith in God and in some diety. When enquired about the taking of vows in case of serious illness etc, 33 of the respondents affirmed taking vows. Many respondents stated that mostly they worship with chants (15 respondents do pooja with chants). Six of them pray regularly. 14 and 6 of them complete their daily pooja by hand folding and bowing only before dieties. However, worshipping in a particular manner is not confined to a set of castes only. In fact, this is regularly done almost uniformly by every caste.

Marriage: The basic concept of marriage remaining the same some changes are noticed which may be termed as departures from conservatism. Some of the common practices which were observed two decades ago are still prevalent as (i) castes are strictly endogamous (ii) marriage within the gotra is not permissible etc. The glaring change that has taken place during last two decades is regarding according permission for divorce and permission for the remarriage of the divorcees and widows. Table 4 reveals that 13 households permit divorce and still 15 more are in favour of remarriage of divorced and widowed persons. 20 years ago, Brahmins, Lingayats, Akkasaligas, Vokkaligas, Telugu Banajigas never approved of such remarriage. Now about 8 of the above caste households are in favour of divorce and remarriage of divorcees and widows.

Awareness regarding minimum age of marriage is also found generally. Some 23 respondents were found to be aware about the minimum age for the marriage of girls and boys. Not only are they aware of the legal position but they also practice it to a very large extent. Marriage of girls after puberty seems to be the rule among all the castes.

The dowry system as such is not generally prevalent but Vokkaligas, Lingayats and Brahmins are found to be giving and accepting dowry. The data presented in Table 4 show that Brahmins on an average spend about Rs.20,000 on the occasion of their sons' and daughters' marriages. Vokkaligas and Lingayats spend about Rs.10,000 for the same. However, the

expenditure reported for girls' marriages is found to be a little more than that for boys' weddings in some castes.

Castes and awareness about the laws of inheritance:

Table 5 shows the sample households classified by castes, landholding size, awareness of laws of inheritance and extent of irrigation of land. As stated earlier sample households of Vokkaligas, Kurubas and Banajigas have bigger land holdings and irrigation facilities are available for their lands, to people irrespective of their castes. However, it is interesting to note that the awareness of laws of inheritance is more in Vokkaligas, Lingayats and Brahmins. Though many are aware of the legal position regarding giving a share to daughters side by side with sons, this seems to be universally ignored in this village.

Agricultural practices: With a view to ascertain the extent of use of modern technology in the field of agriculture the sample households were asked questions regarding the use of improved agricultural implements, improved methods of cultivation, following rotation of crops, using chemical fertilizers, improved variety of seeds etc. Table 6 reveals that now 45 per cent of the households are using improved agricultural implements. Around 40% of the sample households are using improved methods of cultivation, 48% of them follow the rotation of crops. It is encouraging to note that now about 63% (24 out of 38) of the sample households are using chemical fertilizers. They have also reported their satisfaction with its usage and outcome.

The number of households using the improved variety of seeds accounts for 55% in the sample. However, only about 48% have reported satisfaction with the results. The effort of the Government and households' own diligence are largely responsible for the adoption of new technology in the field of agriculture. When we compare the data as presented in the village Survey Monograph 1961 we find that the adoption of new technology has increased more than one hundred per cent.

Industrial activity: Table 8 shows the sample households classified by caste and industrial activity. Out of 38 sample households, three households have stated following some industrial activity. Two of them carry on their activity within the village and one of them is pursuing it outside the village. The investment is small.

However, it is encouraging that now it is being undertaken. Two decades ago the village did not have any household industry apart from gar making.

The table further shows that 26 out of a total of 38 sample households have borrowed loans. Out of the indebted households, 14 have taken loan from either Government agencies or from the bank. However, private lending also is found to be very prevalent. 21 households have reported having borrowed money from private sources. The purpose for the amount borrowed has also been presented in the table. Even though this is a drought year, 24 borrowing households have reported borrowings for production finances alone, out of which 19 for agriculture and 5 have reported, for business. The better off sections have been able to mobilise more finance for purposes including investment in irrigation and agriculture. The weaker sections have been able to borrow smaller amounts mostly for consumption purposes.

The number of employed and unemployed is significant in assessing the economic stability of the households. 25 persons in the sample households were found to be employed and only 4, unemployed.

The saving reported is very small. Now only 3 households have reported any saving. This may be because of unfavourable seasonal conditions.

For the purpose of comparison, it is interesting to note that only a very small percentage of the sample households in the village could get any loan from either the Governmental agency or the banks 20 years ago.

Education: It has already been explained that the village now makes more intensive use of educational facilities and the percentage of literates and other educated groups have increased over a period of time. Here, an attempt is being made to present the responses of the sample households regarding reading of newspapers, listening to radio etc. In fact, radio and the newspapers are the two very powerful media for extension education and have brought about an increase in consciousness and awareness in the people. It is encouraging to note from table 9 that 36 out of 38 sample households keep themselves abreast with the news either by going to the Govt. library and Panchayat or they subscribe to a newspaper themselves. The table further reveals that 27 persons in the

households read Kannada papers and 9 of them English newspapers in the Panchayat office. Only 3 of the sample households were found to be subscribing to their own paper, 22 others read a newspaper in the village Panchayat or Youth Club. 50 persons listen to the radio regularly. This is indicative of the fact that there is a growing awareness among the people and a consciousness to keep themselves abreast with whatever is going on elsewhere.

Participation in cooperation and cultural activities:

Information regarding participation in cooperative societies and in community development programmes was solicited from the sample households. The data has been classified according to caste and cooperation and cultural activities and is presented in Table 12. The data show that 24 sample households have membership in cooperative societies. Out of this 17 have reported availing themselves of benefits from the society. The repayment of the loans taken from the Society, has also been found to be regular. The rest of the respondents have reported not availing of any help because of too many formalities, factions in the co-op. etc.

The participation in community activities has been reported by 17 households. 4 of them participate on all occasions and 13 have reported participation on special occasions only. It is interesting to note that the Vokkalagas have really taken long strides in participation in community development programmes. This is perhaps explained by the fact that the number of educated among them is more and the social status of Vokkaligas is better than that of most castes in the village.

Contd.....16/-

The scheduled castes are not found to be making much use of the cooperative and community development institutions. They are however found to be enthusiastically participating in cultural activities. However, the number of households where the women folk participate in cultural activities is small.

Perception of the sample households towards the achievements of the Panchayat; and observance of rituals.

The data in this regard are presented in table 13. The data reveal that 30 out of 38 respondents have reported positive achievements and contribution by panchayat towards village development. It is interesting to note that barring castes Bedas, scheduled castes, Banajigas and Acharis, almost all of them have opined favourably about the panchayat work.

The observance of rituals particularly in respect of births, marriage and deaths is very strict and some age-old rituals are followed. However, some of the rituals as eating solid food for the first time, kanchedan and upanayanam etc. are now no longer observed regularly. Vokkaligas, Lingayats and Banajigas are found to be more religious in terms of observing various rituals. However, other castes are now more unorthodox in these matters. It is difficult to state whether observance of rituals goes with social status and financial condition of the households or is based on caste considerations only. It appears that principally the social status and caste consideration are important factors even now in the observance of rituals.

Inter-caste relations: The harmony among the inter-caste relations is now more than what it used to be 20 years ago. It is very encouraging to note that 27 households accept temple entry of harijans. However, it is a little intriguing to note that 2 of the scheduled caste households themselves did not favour their entry into temples.

In order to obtain information as to how each caste is perceived in regard to usefulness to the village community by the other castes, the sample respondents were asked to report about the castes which are most useful in the socio-economic life of the village. 15 respondents have agreed about the usefulness of Vokkaligas in the socio-economic life of the village. 4 find Kurubas to be the most useful. Six respondents opined in favour of Banajigas. However, only 3 of the sample households view scheduled caste households as the most useful to the village, and out of these 3 also two are from Vokkaligas and Lingayats who acknowledge the labour contribution of scheduled castes.

Social Control: Table 15 represents an interesting account of social control in the family - who maintains discipline in the family, controls children and whether aged people are respected. The table shows that the head of the family is still very much in the commanding position so far as family discipline goes. 33 households reported discipline in the family being maintained by the head of the household. However, same is not true for the responsibility towards maintaining discipline of children in the home. Here 23 households have reported that it is the house-wife who is responsible for the discipline of children.

Respect for age and experience is overwhelming in the village. All the 38 respondents mentioned that aged people are respected in the village. This is a striking continuity of the traditional values of the village.

Aspiration regarding future needs: In order to ascertain the pressing needs during the next 5 years of the village, information was collected. The data presented in table 16 show that drinking water supply is the most-urgent need of the village. 36 respondents out of 38 respondents considered it as the most important need. Though there are three drinking water wells and one borewell, the open wells have dried up and the borewell is not able to meet the needs of this large village. The next important felt need is that of a dispensary. 11 respondents feel that there must be a dispensary with a qualified doctor in the village. The other felt needs are a pucca road, a high school, a girls school, etc.

Education and Social Attitudes: Reasons for going in for higher education, girls education, adopting a system of co-education, incidence of litigation etc. have been ascertained, classified and are presented in table 17-1. The sample households classified according to the social attitude and reasons for higher education reveal that 20 respondents feel that higher education bestows a progressive mind, 6 view its necessity only for a job and 2 for becoming professionals. That higher education is needed for the seeking of a job is the opinion more prevalent in scheduled caste and Bada households. Interestingly, Vokkaligas, Lingayats and Kurubas generally feel that higher education is necessary for progress. The number of households favouring girls' education was also ascertained. It is encouraging to note that 71% of the respondents favour girls' education. However, it is noticed that some of the advanced Vokkaliga and Brahmin families do not view girls' education favourably. Some in-depth probing in this regard reveals that by and large villagers favour girls' education and are keen to have a girls' high school in the village. The

reasons cited in favour of girls' education make an interesting reading. Almost all the respondents feel that education would bring about an improvement of knowledge of the girls which would in turn make them self-reliant and better able to bring up children. Only one of them feels that the difference between the girls and boys must be reduced. Yet another respondent each feels that girls must be imparted education for the development of social contact and to gain employment. When asked to opine about adopting a co-educational system, 25 respondents have expressed themselves in favour of co-education as against 10 who do not favour it. Those who do not favour co-education mainly comprise of scheduled caste (4), Banajiga (3) and Vokkaliga (2) households.

Litigation: With the complexity of the life and increase in transactions, it appears that litigation has also increased. 23 respondents have stated that litigation has increased during the last 5 years. However, 14 of them feel that it has decreased. On the basis of available data it is really not possible to infer whether litigation has increased or decreased in the village in the last five years.

Dispute settlement: Table 17.2 presents further information about the social attitudes towards different aspects of life as dispute settlement, mobility, travel, religious activities etc. It is really gratifying that nearly all the disputes which normally arise in the village are settled by local elders including the Panchayat President. 36 out of 38 respondents have said so. There is no dispersion in this regard and what is encouraging is the settlement of disputes by local elders even of the down-trodden castes. Our further enquiry in this regard revealed that the caste Panchayats are practically non-existent in the village and instead, the Village Panchayat and village elders are looked up to for settling disputes.

Mobility: 33 respondents have indicated that travel among the villagers has increased due to better transport.

When asked further to assign reasons for the increase in travelling, 18 spoke of entertainment, 8, each of marketing and other personal work and 4 of education.

In response to a question to assign reasons why by far religious activities are taken up, the respondents came out with very candid replies. Two of them only gave devotion to God as the reason for performing religious ceremonies, 9 have opined that they do it for their own selfish ends, 2 do not believe in God at all and the remaining 25 have no reasons to offer. Incidentally, the two non-believers come from Vokkaliga and Banajiga castes. The Bidas, scheduled castes and Vokkaligas have been found to be more vocal in talking of their selfish ends.

in this connection. When further probed, 23 respondents said that no changes have taken place in various ceremonies and rituals. 7 have reported changes. Those having reported change largely come from Banajiga and Vokkaliga households. Importantly the reasons given for the changes required in marriages and other important ceremonies speak for themselves of the progressive views of the sample households. Some of the reasons given were like caste itself should be overcome, expenditure on marriage and other important ceremonies must be reduced, dowry should be reduced to the minimum, the necessity for a simplified marriage and waste of time were stressed. However, the scheduled castes and Bedas and others have not given any response either in affirmative or in the negative. Their opinion by and large seems to be for avoiding wasteful expenditure and overcoming caste difference etc. The Telugu Banajigas have had the salutary practice of conducting group marriages, limiting expenditure and sharing that actually incurred. It is noteworthy that while many have spoken of the need to avoid extravagance in marriages, few other castes have taken to group marriages. They continue to borrow and spend beyond their means for marriages.

Changes in the Village: When asked about changes, respondents have made in their food and clothing habits, many respondents have stated that they have started using nylon and terycot clothes while a few respondents reported eating more rice than ragi. Some respondents, particularly those belonging to the scheduled castes have reported that they have been eating less than they were, 5 years ago. Two of these respondents have stated having only one meal a day; on an average on 10 days in a month and on some days, even going without a meal. This deprivation calls for urgent action. When the respondents were asked whether it is good or bad in their opinion for the village to have amenities and institutions like a community centre, factory, a doctor, mid-wife, family-planning centre and a weekly market, the great majority of respondents expressed themselves in favour of their introduction. However, many respondents expressed their opposition to a liquor shop and some to the opening of a cinema house or a restaurant.

Agents of Change: In order to find out who were the agents of change, the sample households were asked how they came to adopt improved implements, fertilizers, pesticides etc. They feel that change agents have been gramsewaks, block development officials and elite farmers. Radio and newspapers have been identified as the agents of change. The sample households also view and look forward to the extension officials of the University of Agricultural Sciences whom they had approached for new high-yielding varieties they heard of on the radio. Listening to the farmers' programme on the radio is a wide-spread practice among owner cultivators. Proximity to Doddaballapur and Bangalore and the road and bus connections with them have also had a

pronounced impact on the pace of change in this village.

Customs and Beliefs: Table 22.1 mentions the important festivals of the village. Gauri Ganesh and Ugadi festivals have been identified to be the most important festivals in the village. The other important festivals identified are Shivratri and Dusserah.

Burial and disposal of dead bodies: Information on this aspect is presented in table 22.2. Burial is the most common practice for the disposal of dead bodies in the village. Lepers and people suffering from Leucoderma and pregnant women are usually cremated. Brahmins are also cremated. However, the village seems to have an interesting custom in the disposal of dead bodies of pregnant women. It is reported that beyond the 3 or 5th month of pregnancy in the case of the death of a pregnant woman, the foetus is got removed by a doctor, before burial of the two bodies separately. A common belief attached to this is that unless the foetus is removed and buried separately, there would be no rain in the village.

Belief in Ghosts: The preponderance of belief in ghosts is noticed almost everywhere in the countryside. Aralamallige and its inhabitants also believe in ghosts. However, it is significant to note that 16 out of 38 respondents, do not believe that death ceremonies are observed to prevent the dead from becoming ghosts. Some 20 respondents have belief and two preferred to be non-committal.

Perception of changes now, 5 years earlier and 5 years hence.

It is a common saying that changes do occur but whether for the better or for worse is a matter of concern. The belief in system, present day conditions and past experience largely determine the perception of the future. In fact, one of the ways of knowing about the present situation is to ask people how they view their own futures. In order to elicit the response regarding changes in the recent past and anticipations for the next five years, a 10-point self-anchoring scale was prepared (Kilpatrick F. P. and Cantril, H. 1960). Respondents were asked to rate themselves on this scale as to what was their socio-economic status and condition 5 years ago, at the

at the present time, and what they perceive their condition might be 5 years' hence. The different scales have been shown on a graph (Graph 1) which makes a very interesting reading. In order to avoid multiplicity of graphs and to simplify the presentation this scale represents particularly 3 trends i.e. (1) for Vokkaligas (2) for scheduled castes and (3) for all jatis combined. The graph shows that though the scheduled caste households did not perceive much of a change in their socio-economic conditions during the last 5 years, they are hopeful of a bright future in the next five years. They feel that things are now moving in the right direction and that they have a brighter future. Though the aspirations of all jatis combined, did not vary much from that of scheduled castes, their opinion about the present day socio-economic condition is better than that perceived by the scheduled castes. However, the Vokkaligas, who rate themselves on a higher rank of the same socio-economic ladder are confident about their bright future and also very interestingly, visualize that their socio-economic condition would remain high in the next five years. In spite of the fact that the respondents were not aware of each others' responses to these questions the way they put themselves on the same rung of the ladder depending largely on caste and economic status is interesting and significant for the formation of governmental policies.

contd..

Development and Change

Wave after wave of innovation has swept Aralamallige. Changes have been registered in practically every field.

Agriculture: Agriculture in the village has been steadily changing and developing. The staple cereal crop of ragi used to be cultivated by the broadcasting method. In the 1920s a seed drill drawn by bullocks was introduced. Now sowing in rows by a drill or "koorige" with 7 or 8 tynes is used for sowing ragi. Excess seedlings are removed and inter-cultivation is done with an indigenously improved implement called "kunte" (see photograph). Whereas a few years ago this had to be held with one hand and could not be controlled effectively and with ease, improvement has been made in this implement indigenously and now it is operated with both hands.

High yielding varieties: In 1973, high-yielding varieties were introduced in ragi including Indof 1, 3, 5, Poorna, Cauvery etc. At the time of the present inquiry, Indof 8 was found to have been very popular. A remarkable change that has taken place is the introduction of hybrid maize which was practically unknown in the village in the early 1960s. It now occupies as much as 171 acres of dry land and along with ragi is a principal millet crop. Improved varieties were introduced in other crops also since 1940s. In paddy, Coimbatore Sanne (s-661) was introduced in the first place. In sugar cane, M-320 and CO-419 appeared in the village. Since the end of the 60s high yielding varieties were adopted by many cultivators. At this time, IR-8 and IR-20 varieties in paddy were adopted. A further improvement was effected in 1975 with the adoption of the second generation high-yielding varieties of paddy like M. R. 301, IET 2295, MR-136 (Madhu) and IET-1991 (Sona). Hybrid jowar was also tried in 1970 but was given up because of pests and diseases.

In paddy cultivation, the Japanese method was adopted widely, encouragement coming from the Government. Big farmers adopted in the first instance because of higher outlay on labour. With the introduction of second generation paddies which can be planted at random, the Japanese method has not made much headway.

The raising of casurina plantations to be used as fuel in nearby Bangalore has been steadily increasing. Villagers seem to have realized that casurina required less attention than other dry crops, was not very choosy about soils and was drought-resistant.

Generally speaking the intensity of cultivation was related to the distance from the villagers home that had to be traversed. In patches that are farthest from the village site and that are not particularly fertile, casuarina cultivation has increased greatly.

Chemical Fertilizers: Chemical fertilizers were first adopted in the 1940s. The 1961 survey by the Census organisation showed very few farmers had taken to chemical fertilizers. With the introduction of high yielding varieties for which chemical fertilizer is a must, it spread to big as well as small farmers.

Pesticides: Even in 1961, the use of pesticides was noted. Seeds were treated with Agrosan GN-8 since the 50s. Vegetables, paddy and other crops are now widely protected with pesticides. Our enquiry showed that even those who are unable to use full dosages of chemical fertilizers, have taken to the use of pesticides.

Agricultural Implements: The traditional wooden plough with an iron ploughshare has been all but replaced by the improved mold board plough made of steel (See photo). It was reported that the improved plough, which is made in nearby Kolar, ploughs deeper and two ploughings with it are equal to five with the wooden plough.

Electrification: Electrification in the 1950s resulted in the sugarcane crushers worked by bullocks being converted to power crushers. The hand operated flour mill was replaced by a modern electrically operated flour mill. At about the time the crushers were energized, the villagers adopted an improved method of making jaggery (or gur) which used double evens for heating cane juice instead of the single even, which resulted in greater economy and large scale preparation of jaggery.

Well Irrigation: A change of crucial importance came with the digging of irrigation wells and fitting them with electric pump sets. It is reported that the first irrigation well was dug in 1953. Out of 46 irrigation wells seen at the time of the present enquiry, 35 were constructed since 1968. The only thing that deters villagers from digging wells is lack of finance. When the villagers were asked in the earlier Japanese study as to what they would do if they get Rs.20,000 by chance, 16 out of 38 farmers answered, they would construct an irrigation well. 10 others said they would purchase irrigated land. Market gardening made its appearance in the village and baskets of tomatoes are sent daily to Bangalore.

Animal Husbandry: Improved varieties of cows, buffalos, sheep and pigs were seen in the village. About 80 pigs of the Berkshire breed were present in the village. Since the 1961 study, an artificial insemination centre for cattle was set up in the village along with the stockman's veterinary unit. Jersey (please see photo) breed was seen. Whereas the villagers twenty years ago considered it improper to sell milk, with the introduction of a milk chilling centre at Doddaballapur and a milk route through the village to Bangalore, a Milk Co-operative Society was formed and queues of villagers supplying milk daily to the Cooperative were a heartening sight. For draught animals, however, the villagers seem to prefer the local breeds.

Bannur sheep were also seen in the village and even comparatively weaker sections like harijans were seen to have taken to this breed (Please see photo). Kurubas seem to have changed from their traditional sheep-rearing to agriculture because of the reduction in pastures around the village.

Tenancy: With the enforcement of land reforms, very few seem to be leasing-in or leasing-out land, most agriculturists being owner cultivators or landless agricultural labour. This has been a major change in the last few years.

Bonded labour ("Sanabaladaalu") seem to have completely disappeared from the scene consequent on legislation and stringent steps by Government to eradicate it. Some agriculturists complained about the increased wages they are called upon to pay agricultural labour particularly after the abolition of bonded labour. The going wage rate for an adult male these days is Rs.5/- and for an adult female Rs.3/-.

Responses to Changes in the Economic Environment

Agriculturists have been increasing or decreasing acreages under various crops depending upon the prices fetched by the particular commodities. Paddy area is increased when the jaggery price falls and sugarcane area was stepped up when jaggery price rose to Rs.70 a bag. In times of scanty rainfall and undependable irrigation by the village tank, the villagers have tended to raise more paddy than the longer-duration sugarcane crop. In such periods, agriculture tended to become subsistence-oriented.

Health and Medical Care: In 1961 no medical facilities were locally available. To-day the village boasts of a health centre staffed by a nurse-midwife. A doctor visits the centre once a week. When questioned about the desirability of setting up a hospital, many respondents welcomed the idea. At the time of the study, the health centre had been closed for a few months, the nurse-midwife having gone on leave. Many respondents stated that they do not resort to native remedies but get medical attention for all but minor complaints. They also stated that they preferred a private medical practitioner and the Government Hospital both in Doddaballapur, to the local health unit. One respondent who recently lost his son had repeatedly taken him to the Mental Hospital in Bangalore. Enquiries also revealed that a medical graduate who practices medicine in Doddaballapur resides in the village. Family planning is considered very important by the villagers and many had undergone vasectomies. One third of all couples are estimated to be practising family planning in this village.

Education: Perhaps because of the proximity of Doddaballapur where a high school and two colleges are located, there has been no improvement in educational facilities available to young children since 1961. But the existing facilities appear to be more intensively utilized and more people are now going to High School and College than earlier. Respondents favoured education for girls and many thought co-education was all right for boys and girls. Besides the medical graduate referred to above, there is another graduate in Sociology in the village besides a large number who had studied upto the SSLC.

An interesting development is the adult literacy class being conducted especially for women. This was not known twenty years ago.

Untouchability: Untouchability is less severe than twenty years ago. While harijans still do not enter temples, there is no objection to their drinking coffee and tea in the local hotels. In the past their cups were kept outside the hotel in a rack and they were expected to clean their own cups. This is no longer the case. They may walk in any part of the village and go up to the threshold and talk to the caste Hindus. Perhaps because of the prevailing scarcity of water, it was noticed (please see photo) that scheduled castes and other caste Hindus are drawing drinking water side by side from a tube well dug in the harijan part of the village. This seems to be one of the most remarkable changes that has taken place. That

untouchability is relaxing its hold was also seen from the fact that in a Janata Housing scheme under which twenty houses are being constructed, people of various castes including scheduled castes are participating and hope to live together.

The status of scheduled castes seems to have improved somewhat with the Government sponsored assignment of lands to landless harijans. In fact the percentage of scheduled caste agricultural labour as a percentage of the total households of the jati is less than in service jatis like Acharis, Bhajanthesis etc.

Communications: Before 1956 villagers had to go to Doddaballapur to post a letter. In 1956 a small post office was established. Recently savings bank facilities have also been provided to the post office.

The number of buses plying through the village has also increased substantially since 1961.

Whereas there were 6 radios in the village twenty years ago, now there are 200. There was no radio run by the Panchayat for the public in 1961, but one has been in operation for some years now.

Food, Clothing, Shelters: More people tend to eat rice, making the switch from coarser grains like ragi. Many respondents were found to be wearing western type clothes and clothes made of nylon, terricot etc. Many except very poor Adikarnatakas stated that their women folk used toilet soap and cosmetics like talcum powder. A few respondents stated that they used the rather expensive Mysore Sandal Wood soap.

Civic amenities: The streets are paved in stone compared to the katcha streets twenty years ago. The Gram Panchayat has provided side drains along the streets. A notable change has been the provision of electric street lighting in all parts of the main village.

Occupational changes: Many jatis are drifting to agriculture for a living. More Kuruba households are engaged in agriculture than their traditional occupation of sheep-rearing. Banajigas have taken to agriculture in preference to shop-keeping. Brahmins do not appear to be very active performing priestly functions and many Lingayats have taken to officiating at religious ceremonies.

Vokkaligas are of course the jati traditionally and currently engaged in agriculture. As against 21 households owning and cultivating land in 1961, 58 households own and cultivate land today. Smaller farmers of other jatis are selling their holdings to Vokkaligas who have reported purchases of land, digging of irrigation wells, electrification etc.

Marriage: Jatis continue to be strictly endogamous. Some Vokkaligas reported that they do not mind intermarrying with other Vokkaliga sub-castes. Many respondents felt that expenditure on marriages should be reduced. They reported that though they could not afford to spend large amounts on marriages, they resorted to borrowing for purposes of marriage. It appears at least in this village the atmosphere is opportune to bring about a reduction in expenditure on marriages by suitable social reform.

It is evident that change seems to pervade Aralamallige in many an area.

• CHAPTER - V

Conclusions

Aramallige is a growing and progressive village that has benefitted considerably by the systematic efforts of Government at planning and extension work. The Gram Sevak or the village level worker and proximity to Doddaballapur and Bangalore have been the main accelerators of change.

In Aralamallige prosperity is a gamble with the monsoon. The facility with which water can be obtained for agriculture is a crucial determinant of the happiness of the rural folk in this part of the country. Traditional agriculture depended on rainfall and even sugarcane cultivation depended on the tank filling up with rain water. At that time Doddaballapur, 5 KM away had had little influence on this village.

In the 1960s three important introductions were made to the village. Irrigation wells, fitted with electric pump sets made the villagers somewhat independent of the monsoon. Assured irrigation made the cultivation of vegetables and flowers for sale to the market on a daily basis possible. Added to this were the hybrid and high yielding varieties of

There is need to exploit underground water more systematically and particularly for the benefit of the weaker sections. Steps should be taken by the creation of pools and tanks to recharge the subsoil aquifers. A Government sponsored well-digging programme to help the marginal farmers seems to be urgently indicated. For the landless, milch cattle should be supplied with arrangement to recover their cost from the daily milk collections by the Cooperative Society.

The villagers clearly perceive that they are progressing. The Vokkaligas rightly rate themselves on the highest rungs of the ladder. The scheduled castes place themselves on the lowest rungs. But both consider themselves to have progressed during the last five years, though the scheduled castes' progress is perceived by them as only marginal.

There is however remarkable similarity in the high hopes for a better tomorrow among Vokkaligas as well as the Adi Karnatakas, in fact among all the jatis, inhabiting the village.

Aralamallige is apparently progressing very fast though not all sections of the village at the same pace. Given adequate finance and appropriate policies to take special care of the weaker sections, this village should take off economically.

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SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

VILLAGE STUDY

Nemon - Trivandrum District
Kerala

"Perception of Development and Change"

by

Santosh Nautiyal

PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE
IN A KERALA VILLAGE

I BACKGROUND OF THE VILLAGE

The village Nemon in Trivandrum district of Kerala State is located only about 6 Km. away from Trivandrum city on National Highway 47. Like most other villages in Kerala, Nemon is highly populated with a population of over 57,000 spread over an area of about 7300 acres. The village is divided into two panchayats, one of which is named Nemon Panchayat.

The village is well-connected by road to Trivandrum city. It also has a railway station. Electricity, water and telephone facilities are available in parts of the village. Some portions of the village come under the command area of the Neyyar Dam project which was constructed some twelve years ago. The village has a Women's College and a high school. An industrial estate set up by the State government is also located in the village. Paddy, tapioca, and coconut are the major crops grown in the area. Most of the land holdings are below 2 acres.

To describe the physical aspects of the village, one can do no better than to quote from Eric J Miller's "Village in North Kerala" :

"Instead of living huddled in a street, as so many other Indians do, the Malayali prefers the privacy of his own fenced-compound, at a distance from his neighbours. The density of palm trees, plantains, and other vegetation often renders one house invisible from the next. In localities where paddy fields are few, settlement of this kind may be continuous for miles in one direction or another, with no obvious territorial boundaries to individual villages. Even the poorest

householder of the lowest caste lives a little apart from his neighbours and kin, though often on a perimeter of the village or close to the fields. With this exception, settlement is usually haphazard, with no special tendency for houses of a particular caste to cluster together".

The population of the village comprises Hindus, Muslims and Christians. Among the Hindus, Brahmins are very few. The Nairs are the dominant caste. The other castes include the Ezavahs, Nadars and Asaris (Backward Classes) and the Pulayas, Parayas and Thandars (Scheduled Castes).

II THE SAMPLE

For our study we chose Ponnumangalam ward, one of the 11 wards of Nemom panchayat because, after discussion with the local officials and others, we felt that this would be a fairly representative ward. While the caste-wise break-up of the population of the panchayat and ward was not officially available, the very rough estimates that we arrived at (in percentages) after discussion with the local ward members and others were as follows :

Rough Percentage distribution of the population
of Nemom Panchayat and Ponnumangalam Ward by
Caste and Community

Caste/Community	Nemom Panchayat	Ponnumangalam Ward
Nairs	40	40
Backward Classes (Ezavahs, Nadars, Asaris etc.)	20	27
Scheduled Castes (Pulayas, Jhandars etc.)	10	20
Muslims	25	10
Christians	5	3

The total population of Ponnumangalam ward as per the 1971 Census was 5484 (2681 males and 2803 females), comprised in over 600 households. We interviewed a sample of 30 respondents whose caste and community-wise break-up is given in the following statement :

Caste/Community	Number	Percentage
Nairs	12	40
Backward Classes (3 Nadars, 2 Ezavahs, 1 Asari)	6	20
Scheduled Castes (6 Pulayas, 2 Thandars)	8	27
Muslims	4	13
Total	30	100

A proportionately higher number of Scheduled Castes was taken because we felt that their views on the subject would be particularly important. The sample also included 6 women.

The distribution of the respondents by age-group is indicated in the statement below :

Age Group	Number	Percentage
20 - 30	4	13
31 - 40	8	27
41 - 50	8	27
Over 50	10	33
Total	30	100

The educational and income profiles of the sample group are further described in the following statements.

Percentage distribution of respondents according to educational qualifications and by Caste

Education	Nairs	Backward Classes (Ezavahs, Nadars, Asaris)	Scheduled Castes (Pulayas, Thandars)	Muslims
Illiterate	8	-	12.5	25
Up to 5th	33.5	34	25	50
6th to 10th	33.5	16	62.5	-
Over 10th	25	50	-	25
Total	100	100	100	100
N	12	6	8	4

Percentage distribution of respondents according to income and by caste

Annual Income (in Rupees)	Nairs	Backward Classes	Scheduled Castes	Muslims
Upto 2000/-	8	16.7	62.5	25
2001/- to 4000/-	17	33.4	37.5	25
4001/- to 6000/-	33	33.4	-	-
Over 6000/-	42	16.5	-	50
Total	100	100	100	100
N	12	6	8	4

III METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted primarily through interview of the respondents. While a questionnaire had been drafted, this served only as a broad guideline for the discussion with the respondents and was not administered in a formal and rigid manner. We left a great deal of flexibility both for ourselves and the respondents during the discussions.

Two limitations in carrying out the study might be briefly mentioned. One was that we had to complete our study in about a week's time which meant that could not interview as broad a cross-section of the people as we would have liked to. The second limitation was that we did not know the local language and therefore had to talk to the respondents through an interpreter.

We were impressed by the keen awareness of things around them that almost all the respondents displayed. 87% of the respondents said that they read newspapers. Most of them also listened to the radio - at the tea shops if they did not have their own. In fact the community reading rooms and the tea shops appear to be the great meeting places for the villagers.

IV SOCIAL CHANGE INTER-CASTE RELATIONS

The district gazetteer of Trivandrum district, published in 1961, states that the observance of the traditional caste system (Marumakkathayam) with all its rigidity, rigour and social exclusiveness was for long a

pecularity of Kerala. No other place in India was more notorious for the rigorous enforcement of the caste system than Kerala. Hindus belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes called the 'Avarmas' were not allowed to enter and worship in Hindu Temple, were prohibited from walking through the public highways adjoining the temples and were not allowed even to mix with the caste Hindus called 'Suvarmas' in public schools or other public institutions.

However, the gazetteer goes on to state, in recent years the rigidity of caste barriers has abated considerably and caste as an institution perpetuating social exclusiveness has lost much of its significance. Several factors are said to have contributed to this change, such as (1) the rapid spread of education; (2) the increasing migration from the rural areas to the urban; (3) the rapid expansion of the means of communication; and (4) the determined efforts of social and religious reformers and caste organisations such as the Nair Service Society to break down caste barriers.

That caste barriers have broken down to a great extent was borne out by our study. All the respondents agreed that caste differences had practically disappeared and all castes were now "equal". There were no restrictions on entry of members of any caste in the temples and inter-dining at feasts and in tea shops and restaurants was quite common. The harijans were free to take water from wells (public and private) and wear shirts and 'shawls' to cover

the upper half of their bodies which before they could not. Untouchability was no longer practised. Relations between the castes were marked by amity and cooperation. That the present state of affairs is considerably different from the conditions that prevailed earlier was sharply brought out in the remark of a crusty 83-year old Nair patriarch who, when asked to comment on the nature of inter-caste relations prevailing in earlier days, declared, "Before a harijan would not have dared to come within a furlong of my shadow!".

All the respondents except one felt that the lessening of differences between castes was good and in the interest of the community. A 32-year old Nair lady was the sole respondent who did not approve of the change on the ground that this was against the established order and tradition.

Inter-Caste Marriages

While the relations between castes have greatly improved, inter-caste marriages still appear to be uncommon. Our respondents could recount only a few such cases. In fact, one of the respondents, a 27-year old Hindu Pulaya (Scheduled Caste), had himself married a Nair girl a few months ago. The girl belonged to the same village, though a different ward. The respondent stated that the girl's parents had not approved of the marriage. After the marriage the parents had sold their lands in the village and migrated to another and had not left the daughter anything.

60 per cent of the respondents stated that they "approved" of inter-caste marriages because "all men are equal", they were "good for the community" and so on. 40 per cent of the respondents held that such marriages were not desirable and this included three Hindu Pulaya (Scheduled Caste) respondents who believed that inter-caste marriages led to harassment by the higher castes which forced the couple to migrate to another village.

Hindu-Muslim Relations

Relations between the Hindus and Muslims are also marked by friendliness and cooperation. On festive occasions Muslims visit temples and Hindus visit mosques. Interdining is also quite common. There are now no restrictions on entry into houses. As one Muslim respondent remarked, there has been no problem between the Hindus and the Muslims for the past 40 years.

V SOCIAL ATTITUDES

Ideal Family Size

All the respondents felt that the ideal family was a small one (the specific number of children mentioned varying between 2 and 4). The reasons given in favour of a small family were (a) that the children could be looked after better (b) the children could be given better education (c) it ensured better health of the mother and children; and (d) it was in the national interest.

An analysis of the number of children that the married respondents (27 in number) had makes it appear that

there is, in practice, a trend towards smaller families :

Age group of respondents	Average number of children
Over 50	7
41 - 50	3
31 - 40	3
20 - 30	1

While we did not put the question directly to all the respondents whether they had taken birth control measures, responses to our general enquiries made it appear that sterilisation of either the wife or husband was quite widespread among the Hindus, but less so among the Muslims. One of the Muslim respondents stated that only about 10 per cent of the Muslim families adopted family planning methods. The reason for this, according to him, was that religious custom and the priest did not encourage family planning. The other Muslim respondents also corroborated that the Muslim community had not taken to family planning in a large way.

Some of the farm labourers also held the belief that sterilisation of the male makes him weak. This could be one of the reasons why a large number of women have got themselves sterilised.

Age at Marriage

The respondents were asked regarding the age at which girls and boys generally married today. From their replies it appeared that boys generally married around the age of 25, whereas girls generally married around the age of 18. According to the district gazetteer, the mean age of marriage in 1961 was 20.59 for males and 16.98 for females.

The trend, therefore, appears to be towards marriage at a higher age. The factors to which the respondents primarily attributed this were (a) that girls and boys were increasingly going in for higher education and (b) that it was becoming more difficult to find employment.

All the respondents approved of the trend for reasons such as (a) that it enabled girls and boys to receive a fuller education (b) that a man could look after his family better after getting a job and (c) that it led to a reduction in the number of children.

Rituals

All the respondents believed that rituals in respect of birth, marriage and death ceremonies had become simpler in terms of their elaborateness and the time taken to perform them. 66 per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that expenditure on such ritual ceremonies had decreased. The Nair respondents particularly drew attention to the fact that members of their community were spending much less on the death ceremony. Mention was also made

that in order to reduce expenditure, the poorer sections had taken to inviting guests to a tea party rather than a meal. 34 per cent of the respondents, however (including 75 per cent of the Muslim respondents), believed that people were spending more on ritual ceremonies.

Among the reasons given for decreasing expenditure were the weakening of traditions, action of voluntary organizations, and so on. The reasons given by those who felt that expenditure had increased included rising costs, a widening circle of friends and the ability of the rich to spend more.

All the respondents who felt that expenditure on ritual ceremonies was decreasing believed that this was a good trend, while all the respondents who were of the view that expenditure was increasing held that this was not a good trend. In both the cases, the respondents believed that money should be spent for more useful purposes.

Dowry

90 per cent of the respondents held that dowry had increased while 10 per cent believed that it had decreased. While no specific reasons were given by those who felt that dowry had increased, some respondents stated that dowry had increased because the rich could afford to give more.

All the respondents, however, believed that the dowry system was bad because (a) it placed undue hardship on the poor and middle class, (b) those who did not have money could not get their daughters married, (c) boys and girls were "equal", and so on.

Religion

Asked whether people were more or less "religious" today, 70 per cent of the respondents stated that people had become less religious while 30 per cent stated that people had become more religious. Among the reasons adduced for people having become less religious were (a) that inter-communal and inter-caste differences had been reduced, (b) that people had become more educated, (c) that political parties had become more important and (d) that there was corruption in the temple. No specific explanation as to why people had become more religious was given by those who believed this was so.

Those who were of the view that people were becoming less religious felt that this was a good trend because they held that this reduced communal differences, or that religion should be simplified and money spent for more useful purposes. At the same time, those who believed that people were becoming more religious also felt that this was a good trend as it increased peace of mind, reduced evil and so on.

Status Perception

We asked the respondents as to what, in their view, was the main factor which gave a person high status in the society today and what was the main factor ten years ago. 22 respondents answered this question and their replies are analysed in the statement given below :

Percentage distribution of respondents according to what was considered to be the main factor in determining status in the Society

Factor	Today	10 years ago
Family Status	Nil	18
Character	10	64
Money	36	18
Education	18	Nil
Political/Social leadership	18	Nil
Ability/Performance	18	Nil
Total	100	100
N	22	22

Whereas it appears that status was primarily determined before by an individual's family connections and his 'character', his status today is determined today more by his demonstrated ability, leadership and wealth.

VI ECONOMIC CHANGES

Occupational Pattern

The caste-wise occupational break up of the respondents is given in the statement below :

Percentage distribution of respondents
by occupation and caste

Occupation	Nairs	Backward Classes (Ezavahs, Nadars, Asaris)	Scheduled Castes (Pulayas, Thandars)	Muslims
Farm labourer	-	-	87.5	-
Daily wage employee	-	-	12.5	25
Serviceman	17	16.7	-	-
Govt. employee	25	16.7	-	25
Agriculturist	58	-	-	-
Businessman	-	16.6	-	-
Other	-	50	-	50
Total	100	100	100	100
	N 12	6	8	4

For the above purpose, ex-servicemen and ex-government employees have been included in the category of 'serviceman' and 'government employee' respectively. Also, in many cases an individual may have more than one occupation; in such cases his principal occupation - the one from which he derives the major portion of his income - has been considered. Thus, among the Muslim and Backward Classes respondents there were those who also pursue agriculture. In fact, the Ezavahs who belong to the Backward Classes are among the prominent

agriculturists of the area. In case of female respondents, the occupations of their husbands have been considered.

The Scheduled Castes are in almost all cases following their traditional occupations - farm labour in the case of Pulayas and coconut - picking in the case of Thandans which also has been included in the category of farm labour for the purpose of analysis. Thus, in spite of better caste relations and improved education, there appears to have been little upward mobility in occupations for the Scheduled Castes so far. The Nairs are mostly agriculturists, servicemen and government employees.

Asked as to what occupation they would like their children to follow, 42 per cent of the respondents said they would like them to be government employees, 14 per cent doctors, 14 per cent teachers, 7 per cent businessmen. 23 per cent of the respondents either gave no definite answer or a negative answer such as "I would not like them to become labourers".

Agriculture

The percentage distribution of the respondents according to the size of their land holdings and by caste is indicated in the statement given below :

Size of land holding (in acres)	Nairs	Backward Classes (Ezavahs, Nadars, Asaris)	Scheduled Classes (Pulayas, Thandars)	Muslims
Nil	-	-	12.5	25
0 -- 0.20	-	33	87.5	50
0.21 - 0.50	-	16.7	-	-
0.51 - 1.00	50	16.7	-	25
1.01 - 2.00	25	16.7	-	-
Over 2.00	25	16.9	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100
N	12	6	8	4

None of those having land less than 0.20 acres can be regarded as an agriculturist since most of the area is taken up by the house site. None of the Scheduled Caste respondents is, therefore, an agriculturist since they all have holdings less than 0.20 acres in size. The Nairs have the largest proportion of those having larger land holdings.

Of the 17 respondents having land holdings over 0.20 acres in size, 8 (48 per cent) have only dry land, whereas the remaining 9 (52 per cent) have both dry and

wet land. On the wet lands only paddy is grown whereas the dry lands are used for cultivation of coconut, tapioca, jack fruit etc. But the main commercial crop is the coconut. All the respondents who have wet lands stated that these lands were irrigated from either the Neyyar dam or some other minor irrigation project.

Improved seeds and fertiliser were used by all the 9 respondents cultivating paddy on wet lands. The improved seeds were obtained either from the agriculture department or from other cultivators, while fertiliser was purchased in most cases from the local FACT retail shop. Asked as to since when they had been using improved seeds and fertilisers, the respondents gave answers varying from 2 to 10 years. Their estimates of the increase in yields also varied between 15 to 50 per cent. Only one respondent stated that he was using a power tiller on hire basis for cultivating his lands. The others still resorted to traditional methods of tilling the soil with the help of bullocks or buffaloes.

While use of fertiliser for paddy appears to have become quite common, only 3 respondents (18 per cent) reported that they were using chemical fertiliser (called 'coconut mixture') for coconut cultivation. The others were using natural manure. Only one respondent reported that he was using an improved variety of coconut called TXD (Tall X Dwarf) on an extensive scale. In this variety the palm grows smaller in height than the local variety and also bears nuts which are better in quality and greater in number. This particular respondent

stated that the improved variety gave double the number of nuts that the local variety produced. However, two other respondents who had also experimented with the TXD variety on a limited scale stated that they had not been happy with the results. In their view, the nuts were of better quality and greater in number in the local variety.

The commercial value of coconut has greatly increased in recent years. The respondents stated that the selling price of coconuts averaged between Rs.105/- to Rs.110/- per hundred. According to the supplement brought out to the district gazetteer, the price of coconuts varied between Rs.75/- and Rs.82/- per hundred in 1976. For this reason, the price of dry land has also registered a sharp increase - today it is reported to be five times as expensive as wet land. One of the respondents owning wet land stated that he was trying to make a portion of the land suitable for coconut cultivation in view of the high returns.

Economic Condition of the People

The respondents were asked whether, in their view, the economic condition of the people had improved. 47 per cent of the respondents believed that the condition of the people had improved, 16 per cent felt that only the condition of harijans had improved, while 10 per cent held that the condition of the people had become worse. 27 per cent of the respondents said that they did not know. We found no significant correlation

between the answers given and the economic status of the respondents.

Among the factors which were believed to be responsible for the economic betterment of the people were (a) improved agriculture (b) loans from cooperatives and banks (c) facilities granted by government to the weaker sections (d) increase in the labour wage rates (e) greater availability of work (f) increase in the price of coconuts and (g) employment in the Gulf.

Improvement in the condition of the harijans was ascribed mainly to the facilities granted to them by government and the increase in labour wage rates.

Those who believed that the economic condition of the people had worsened felt that this was mainly due to the increased cost of living.

The respondents were also asked as to what, in their view, the government should do to improve the economic condition of the people. Their answers are analysed in the statement given below :

Percentage distribution of the respondents according to what they considered government should do to improve the economic condition of the people and by caste

What govt. should do	Nairs	Backward Classes (Ezavahs, Nadars, Asaris)	Scheduled Castes (Pulayars, Thandars)	Muslims
Set up industries to provide employment	50	83	25	75
Provide loans from Societies/Banks	17	-	75	-
Eliminate corruption	8	-	-	-
Don't know	25	17	-	25
Total	100	100	100	100
N	12	6	8	4

The majority of the respondents believed that government should set up industries to provide employment to the people. Lack of employment was seen by most respondents to be the major economic problem. Expectedly, a majority of the weaker sections (Scheduled Castes) would like to get more immediate relief in the form of loans. Among the 5 respondents who replied "don't know" 3 were women.

VII CONCLUSION

Significant changes appear to have occurred in inter-caste relations as well as in the social attitudes of the people. Yet differences between castes cannot be said to have disappeared as is evidenced by the fact that inter-caste marriages are still uncommon and not always welcomed when they do occur. Moreover, the improvement in inter-caste relations has not yet led to any significant change in the economic condition of the scheduled castes. In spite of the various facilities granted to them by the government they remain economically the worst off section of society, practically landless, and in most cases eking out their existence in their traditional occupations. The higher caste Nairs continue to remain the economically dominant section.

The manner in which the people perceive the changes taking place around them, however, appears to augur well for the future. In their views one can discern a marked shift towards modern and progressive thinking and a shedding of the traditional anchors of social beliefs.

VILLAGE STUDY REPORT

Subject : **PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT & CHANGE**

A study of Eklingpura and Kaladwas Villages

Block : Girwa

District : Udaipur, Rajasthan

D. C. MISHRA

Roll No. 620



Sixth Advanced Professional Programme in Public Administration

Indian Institute of Public Administration
Indraprastha Estate
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New Delhi-110002

DECEMBER 1980

Sixth Advanced Professional Programme in
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VILLAGE STUDY

As a part of the above programme, a team of seven members, with Dr. P.M. Varma of the IIPA as Supervisor, conducted a socio-economic study of two villages - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - in the Girwa Block of Udaipur District in Rajasthan for two weeks from December 1, 1980. The members of the team and the subjects of their study are given below:-

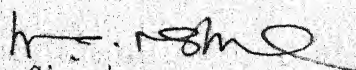
<u>Name</u>	<u>Subjects</u>
1. Shri P.K. Bagchi	Pattern of indebtedness and bondage.
2. Shri P.U.C. Chowdary	Inter-Caste relations.
3. Shri L.R. Julka	Condition of agricultural labour.
4. Shri D.C. Mishra	Perception of development & change.
5. Shri V.K. Seth	Consumption Pattern.
6. Shri M.P. Vasudeva	Cropping and input use pattern.
7. Miss R. Vijayalakshmi	Status of women.

The broad framework of the report is as under:-

- Part-I. Carries a brief description of Udaipur District, the Girwa Block and the two villages of Eklingpura and Kaladwas. It also explains the reasons for selection of these two villages for the above study. This portion has been prepared jointly by the study team from the information collected, as well as that supplied by the District Administration.
- Part-II Gives a general introduction of the specific subject of study, the objectives and the methodology followed.
- Part-III Presents an analysis of the data collected and the conclusions of the member concerned.
- Part-IV Contains supporting annexures.

The members of the study team are grateful to the officials of the District Administration of Udaipur, who extended the necessary assistance and co-operation in all possible manner to enable the team to conduct a meaningful study. The members also place on record their deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Varma, who, besides being a source of inspiration, rendered valuable guidance all through.

New Delhi
December 20, 1980.


Signature.

C O N T E N T S

PART-I

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PART-IV

Annexures and Photographs

PART I

PROFILE OF THE DISTRICT, FLOCK AND THE VILLAGES

Hallowed by the heroic battles fought by Maharana Pratap against Akbar's mighty Mughal forces, Mewar, the Kingdom of Sisodia Rajputs, occupies a unique place in the Indian History. Udaipur, founded in the year 1567 by Maharana Udai Singh, was the last of the capitals of the State of Mewar.

Thoughts of the desert seem a mirage in the serene coolness of the lake-borne city of Udaipur. Cupped with soft-green hills, the opiate beauty of this city is like a joyous miracle in the dusty, wind-blown heat of Rajasthan. Still evoking the rich sensibilities of a royal lineage, long gone by, the dreamy city of Udaipur is unique in its elusive, feminine quality amongst the masculine citadels of Rajasthan. Shimmering and twinkling, the lakes of Pichola, Fateh Sagar, Swaroop Sagar and Udai Sagar give the city its haunting beauty.

and exceptionally colorful

Historically famous and culturally rich, the present district of Udaipur abounds with a number of interesting places. Haldighati, where a valiant battle was fought by Rana Pratap, riding his gallant horse, Chetak, is in this district. Nathdwara, where the great temple of Srinathji enshrines a unique monolithic black-stone image of Sri Krishna, is only fortyeight kilometres north of Udaipur. The Eklingji temple, on the shores of a lake, houses the presiding deity of the Ranas of Mewar.

Situated around 75° longitude and 24° latitude, in the South-western part of Rajasthan, Udaipur district is dotted with green, lofty and minerally rich Aravalli ranges. Endowed with a temperate and healthy climate, the district has seventeen tehsils, divided into eighteen blocks.

The district is predominantly rural, with 3,116 villages and 92 per cent of the population living in villages. The ancient tribe of Bhils, also known as Gamethis, whose close association with the Ranas of Mewar was symbolised in the emblem of that State, constitute a sizable one-third of the population of the district. Latest estimates put the total population of the district at 2.4 million.

Agriculture forms the backbone of the district with two-thirds of the population making a living out of it. Due to the hilly terrain, the area is rocky and uneven, with very low water table. The rainfall is also scanty, averaging around 630 mms. The rural economy, which has to sustain itself through agriculture, is adversely affected by the vagaries of nature. The rainfall is often quite untimely and erratic. The district is also drought-prone and has been famine-stricken for the last four years continuously, causing damage to the economic equilibrium.

The farmers in the district have to put forth more than average efforts to eke out a living. Man-made distortions and fragmentation of land have also contributed to the situation. The district, with predominantly small land holdings, has a total area of two million hectares of which only 18 per cent is cultivated. The area under more than one crop constitutes only 43 per cent of the cultivated area. Nearly three-fourths of the holdings are under three hectares, while holdings below one hectare account for half of the cultivated area.

The principal crop is maize, which is evident from the famous slogan in the area - "Gehoon Chodna Makki Khana, Mewar Chodkar Kahin na Jana". Other important crops are wheat, barley, gram and pulses. Foodgrains account for 85 per cent and Oil-seeds for 8 per cent of the total area under cultivation.

The district has been declared by the Government as an industrially-backward area. However, a few large and medium scale industries have sprung up in and around Udaipur city. These include the Hindustan Zinc Limited, J&K Tyres Ltd., Pesticides India Ltd., Udaipur Cotton Mills, etc. While there are 731 units in the small-scale sector, cottage and household industries number about 11,500. The employment potential of these industrial units works out to a meagre 6 per cent of the total work force available in the district.

The Block:

The Girwa Panchayat Samiti is contiguous to Udaipur City. The

Samiti consists of 161 villages and 35 Gram Panchayats. The population of the Samiti is 2.34 lakhs out of which 56,000 belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Out of a total area of 1.31 lakh hectares, only 0.25 lakh hectares are cultivable. The land holdings are also small with 85 per cent of the total holdings being under three hectares.

The Samiti is thus fairly representative of the district with regard to the occupational patterns, area under cultivation, land holdings, distribution of population, etc.

The Villages under Focus:

Two adjacent villages, Eklingpura and Kaladwas, along with a third village Manwakhera, form part of the Gram Panchayat of Kaladwas. The two villages selected for study - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - are about a kilometre apart from each other and lie on the Udaipur-Jhamar Kotra Road and are about seven and ten kilometres respectively from the district headquarters of Udaipur.

Both these villages were established around 1450 AD. The Bhils, who were natives of the area, were displaced by the Dangis, the farmers' community. Originally known as Rohiad Pura, the village Eklingpura obtained its name during the reign of Maharaja Bhupal Singh of Mewar State. Eklingji, as already mentioned, is the presiding deity of the State of Mewar. There is an old Shiva temple in the village, in a cave, which is the oldest structure in the area. 'Poornima Mela', a village fair, is held on every full-moon day.

These villages had the distinction of having received a foreign dignitary, when Mr. Malcolm Fraser, the Australian Prime Minister, visited them in January 1979. This historic visit has been commemorated by naming the road leading to Eklingpura as 'Fraser Lane'. Para

Parakakhet is a hamlet of Kaladwas, wherein live the Scheduled Tribe, the Bhils or Gamethis. It is two-and-a-half kilometres from the main village.

WHY THESE TWO VILLAGES WERE SELECTED FOR STUDY ?

The selection of these two villages for the purpose of this study was made on the basis of accessibility, exposure to various development programmes and proximity with block and district headquarters. These villages are also representative villages of the district with regard to rainfall, proportion of irrigated land and

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE VILLAGES

The following are the salient features of the villages under study:

<u>Population:</u>	<u>Kaladwas</u>	<u>Eklingspura</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male	719	416	1135
Female	669	357	1026
Total:	1388	773	2161
Scheduled Castes	116	43	159
Scheduled Tribes	433	112	545
<u>Households:</u>			
a) Kaccha	300	105	405
b) Pakka	45	54	99
Total:	345	159	504
<u>Literacy:</u>			
Number of literates	351	271	622
Number of Illiterates	1037	502	1539
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Occupations:</u>			
Number of workers	416	259	675
Number of non-workers.	972	514	1486
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Workers:</u>			
Cultivation	261	177	438
Household industries	10	4	14
Manufacturing	40	9	49
Construction	25	11	36
Agricultural Labourers	9	10	19
Trade & Commerce	7	4	11
Mining	11	5	16
Others	53	39	92
Total:	416	259	675
<u>Area: (in acres)</u>			
a) Geographical Area	2090	1823	3913
b) Area under cultivation	780	724	1504
i) Area irrigated	477	359	836
ii) Area unirrigated	303	365	668
Total:	780	724	1504
No. of wells with electric pump-sets	51	35	86
No. of tractors in the village	-	1	1

* According to 1971 Census.

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<u>Crops: (in acres)</u>	<u>Kaladwas</u>	<u>Eklingpura</u>	<u>Total</u>
a) <u>Kharif</u>			
Maize	359	309	668
Sugarcane	38	23	61
Vegetables	13	18	31
Other Crops	59	25	84
Total:	469	375	844
b) <u>Rabi</u>			
Wheat	164	201	365
Barley	86	80	166
Gram	30	39	69
Vegetables	4	8	12
Fodder	27	21	48
Total:	311	349	660

Land-holdings:

Less than 2.5 acres	231	72	303
2.5 to 5 acres	57	50	107
5.1 to 7.5 acres	30	16	46
7.6 to 10.0 acres	10	10	20
Above 10 acres	17	11	28
Total:	345	159	504

Other Details:

Schools:

No. of primary schools	1	1	2
No. of middle schools	1	-	1

Students:

No. of boys	208	75	283
No. of girls	20	21	41
Total:	228	96	324

Post Office	1	-	1
Sub-centre of Health	1	-	1

Distance from District Headquarters	10 Km	7 Km	
Distance from Block Headquarters	10 Km	5 Km	
Distance from Railway Station	5 Km	6 Km	

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PART-II

2.1 Introduction:

No society seems to be static in the world. The forces of change are all-pervading. A change in a society can occur usually in two ways which includes incorporation of new traits or ideas with or without rejection of the old. Such a change may or may not be accepted by the society and this leads to the concept of directed change. Directed change is supposed to lead to a planned process of development which ultimately leads to change in the outlook of people.

After independence (1947), efforts were made through planned process by various government schemes to improve the living standards of rural population and to raise the agricultural production. The introduction of Green Revolution in the country had brought forward new concepts of change. With the increase in population and to solve the problem of unemployment, right from Second Five Year Plan period, it was, however, realised that such a development has to particularly cater the needs of weaker sections of the society. Consequently several schemes were launched by the Government for the general upliftment, improvement of resources and to help weaker sections of the society. These schemes ultimately merged into an integrated rural development programme (IRDP) for the achievement of desired development and change in the rural society. The present study has, therefore been attempted to analyze the problems of development and change in the Eklingspura and Kaladwas villages of Girwa block in Udaipur District. The main purpose of the study is to find out the perception of the villagers regarding the development and change occurring in the villages either through government schemes or through the passage of time by way of evolutionary process. Perception refers to a discernment or a feeling regarding development and change. It is not necessary that this be based on actual experience, but would indicate a sort of "vision" which the villagers have built up.

2.2

Objectives:

As already pointed out the main purpose of this study is to find out the perception of the villagers regarding the development and change. This development and change may, however, have taken place as a result of implementation of government schemes or purely as a result of progress of society over the course of time. The present study aimed at, to evaluate the reactions of different cross-sections of rural society and to find out how they perceive the development and change and their involvement in the process of directed change. For studying this problem several factors improving the perception of development and change, were also taken into consideration. They are:-

- a) Higher socio-economic status;
- b) Increase in education;
- c) Influence of media;
- d) Political socialisation and social mobility.

An attempt has also been made to study the factors which restrict their perception of development and change which includes, institutionalised behaviour, customs and traditions, lack of communication and publicity about government programmes and suspicion and distrust of officials and outsiders.

2.3

Hypotheses:

In order to study the problem, the following Hypotheses have been tested in the present study:-

1. Development and change may be perceived differently by different cross-sections of society.
2. With the increase of education and exposure to media of mass communication, development and change is perceived in a positive way.
3. Higher the political socialisation and economic status, greater is the perception of development and change.

2.4 Methodology:

The 'research team'^{*} visited Eklingpura and Kaladwas villages for more than a week, spending considerable time in acquaintance with area and people and collected necessary data from different sources. For conducting this study the methods of survey-research were adopted. The main tools of research were interview, observation and discussions, apart from studying the documents and official records. For interview purpose, an interview guide was prepared well in advance and necessary information ~~was~~ collected from respondents as well as officials, non-officials and village leaders. The interviews were held on different locations as well as different period of time. Small group discussion in general and exchange of information in particular among the members of research team proved to be very useful in the final analyses of data and report writing.

For illustration purposes a number of photographs were taken by the research team. Since all the members were proficient in Hindi, there was no language difficulty experienced and a good deal of rapport was established with the respondents in the due course of time. A final round up discussions was also held with the officials and non-officials. In addition to this some voluntary organisations involved in the village development works were also contacted and research team participated in a seminar held on 6th December 1980 on the subject of 'Rural Development' at Sewa Mandir, Udaipur. Records available at the Udaipur University and School of Social Work were also ~~examined~~.

* Note: Though, for purpose of form, expressions like 'we' and 'research team' have been used in this part, the data was collected and interviews were conducted by the author himself. The observations and conclusions are likewise his own.

2.4.1 Sampling:

A representative sample was taken from amongst villagers presuming that as far as development and change are concerned land holding by a household is one of the main determining factor. The complete household in the two villages were, therefore, broken into four groups as under:-

1. Landless - possessing no land and supported by other means of livelihood;
2. Marginal land owners - marginal farmers having land upto 2.5 acres;
3. Small land-holders - Small farmers with land holding upto 2.5 to 5 acres; and
4. Large land owners - progressive farmers with land holding above 5 acres.

A total sample of 30 households was drawn with the following break up:-

Table-1

Percentage of samples drawn from various groups on the basis of land holdings

Land holdings	Total no. of households in 2 villages	No. of samples drawn	% age
Landless	182	11	6.1%
0 to 2.5 acres	121	8	6.6%
2.5 to 5 acres	107	6	5.6%
Above 5 acres	94	5	5.3%
Total	504	30	6% approx.

Therefore, while the total sample drawn was 6% of the total supply of households, the groupwise sample varied between 5% to 7%. It was found that there is a distinctive caste hierarchy in the village and, therefore, due care was also exercised to include as many castes in the sample as possible.

Since 11.5% population in Eklingspura and 30% in Kaladwas was of Adivasis, 26.6% of the sample was drawn from amongst Adivasis. Castewise break-up of the sample is given below:-

Table-2

Castewise break-up of sample

Caste	Occupation	No. of samples taken
Brahmin	Cultivation	5
Dangi	Cultivation	5
Adivasi (Bhils)	Cultivation	8
Salvi	Weaver	2
Meghwal	Shoe-maker	2
Suthar	Carpenter	1
Lohar	Blacksmith	1
Rajput	Cultivation	1
Sadhu	Priest	1
Nagarchi	Drum beater	1
Bhat	Record-keeper	1
Lakhera	Lakh bangles trade	1
Kumhar	Potter	1
Total:		30

Adivasis are also known as Gametis or Bhils and are included as Scheduled Tribe whereas Salvis and Meghwals are scheduled castes. Therefore, proper representation was given to scheduled caste and scheduled tribes in the sample.

The sample was also drawn in the manner that literates and illiterates are covered adequately. While ^{six} persons had received secondary education, 12 persons had received only Primary education and 12 illiterates were included in the sample. Sample was also drawn in the manner, so that various age groups are represented.

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PART-III

3.1 Development schemes and their progress in the villages:

The various government development schemes were operative in the villages (Eklingpura, Kaladwas) at the time of study, i.e. (i) Applied Nutrition Programme (ANP); (ii) Integrated rural development Programme (IRDP) and (iii) Tribal area development programme.

The government programmes which have been implemented in the villages earlier but were not operative at the time of study were:-

- i) Food for work programme (FFW);
- ii) Small farmers development programme (SFDA);
- iii) Antyodaya;
- iv) Adult education programme;

The brief objects of each programme and its progress in the villages are explained below:-

3.3.1 Applied Nutrition Programme (ANP):

Keeping in view the food scarcity problems and the fact that majority of persons in the villages are vegetarian, this programme was started in the villages during 1964. The main aims of the programme being - (a) to raise the nutrition level of families in the village, in particular of women and children; (b) to improve the quality of nutrition value of the traditional food taken by the villagers by educating and explaining them the importance of balanced diet; (c) to start programmes for improvement of community health by checking infectious diseases and improving the quality of drinking water; (d) to develop proper irrigation facilities to curb severity of future droughts to some extent and to ensure that the people get nutritious diet to improve their health.

Under this scheme, supply of nutritious food is being given to the children going to schools at Eklingpura and Para-ka-Khet (a hamlet of village Kaladwas). One hand-pump has also been

provided in the school compound at Eklingspura for development of kitchen garden etc.; but this was inoperative. A lady Nutrition Officer, Miss Krishna Tiwari, has been posted at Panchayat Samiti Girwa to help the families in improving their food habits.

3.1.2 Integrated rural development programme (IRDP):

The Programme of integrated rural development in the present form was launched in 1978-79 in Girwa block. Prior to launching this programme, in the Fourth Five Year Plan period, small farmers development programme was introduced in this block in 1971. The main objectives of this scheme are to raise families in the target identified groups, above the poverty line and to create substantial additional opportunities for employment in the rural sector. During the year 1980-81 an allotment of Rs. 12.16 lac has been made for Girwa block for improvement in the sectors of agriculture, animal husbandry, minor irrigation and training of rural youth for self-employment. Under this scheme, 899 new wells were dug, 627 old wells have been deepened, 558 electric pumps have been installed, 35 sprayers for pesticides, 5 power sprayers, 40 foot sprayers and 241 seed bins for grain storage were arranged.

As regards villages selected for study, so far, 49 farmers at Eklingspura and 91 farmers at Kaladwas have been covered under this scheme. One work of provision of Anicut at Eklingspura and the work of lift irrigation at Kaladwas were in progress.

3.1.3 Tribal Area Development Programme:

Girwa block of Udaipur district has been recognised as a block having a higher percentage of tribal population and has, therefore, been included in the list of Tribal Areas for Tribal Area Development Programme. As per the figures of 1977, 43.94% of the total rural population of Girwa block is of Scheduled Tribes.

Tribal Area Development Programme was formally started in this area from 1977-78. Tribal area development schemes are

basically Area Development Schemes; but efforts have been made to extend various benefits to tribals mainly. This includes the following sectors:-

1. Training of scheduled tribe persons in various crafts and professional courses;
2. Free education, supply of school dresses, books and stationery;
3. Minor irrigation works;
4. Development of cooperative societies;
5. Help regarding tools to mine workers.

As regards Eklingpura and Kaladwas are concerned, there is a S/T population of 11.5% and 30% respectively. Various members of S/Tribe have been given help under items 1 to 4 above to improve their economic condition.

3.1.4 Food For Work (FFW):

Food for work programme was started on 1.6.1978 in Girwa block. Under this scheme it was proposed to render help to villagers of the scarcity area and at the same time completing the works for development of the villages. Under this scheme wheat as well as cash was given to each villager based on the work done by him each day. On an average an unskilled worker was given grains to the value of Rs. 7/- per day and a skilled worker was given grains of a value of Rs. 7/- + Rs. 3/- in cash. During the year 1978-79, 10049 quintals of wheat and Rs. 33175.93 were distributed to the villagers and 236 works were covered under the scheme. With effect from 16.4.1979 the scheme has been merged with famine relief work. The works completed and those in progress under the scheme concerning villages under study have been given in Pt. IV of the report.

3.1.5 Small farmers development programme:

This programme was introduced in the year 1971 for making small and marginal farmers economically viable and for

improving the lot of landless agricultural labourers by raising the output of small holdings and generating employment through subsidiary occupations. The main objective of the scheme was to reach the benefits of agricultural development to the numerically large; but economically weaker sections of the rural community. This programme along with other programme like Drought Prone Area Programme, MFAL Programme etc. have been merged in an integrated Rural Development Programme in operation w.e.f. 1978-79.

3.1.6 Antyodaya:

Antyodaya Programme was started in Girwa block with effect from 2nd October, 1977. The main aim of this programme was to help poorest amongst the poor. Under this scheme, pension was granted to old persons, land allotment was made to landless, employment was granted to unemployed labourers, and loans were given to poor persons to improve their economic condition. In the first phase of this Scheme, 729 persons were covered in this block whereas in the 2nd phase 522 persons have been covered. As regards villages Eklingspura and Kaladwas are concerned, 10 persons in 1st phase and 5 persons in 2nd phase have been covered. The scheme is at present held in abeyance.

3.1.7 Adult education programme:

Adult education programme has been started in Girwa block w.e.f. December, 1974 with the help of Sewa Mandir Udaipur. The purpose of this scheme was to cause literacy, social awakening and practicability amongst villagers. At national level this scheme has been started w.e.f. 2nd October, 1978. At Eklingspura adult education centre was run during 1978-79 by a woman Panchayat Member, for women. Such centres are, however, not functioning at present, though trained villagers for the implementation of the scheme are available in the village.

3.2 Data Analysis

An interview schedule was prepared in advance to collect the perceptions of villagers about development and change. A copy of this schedule is included in Part-IV of the report. Based on the answers received to this interview schedule as well as the other modes of collection of data already highlighted in Part-II of the report, a data chart was prepared. This collected data of villages of Eklingspura and Kaladwas is analysed under different heads as follows:-

3.2.1 General:

The general factors effecting the perception of the villagers have been analysed under three different sub-heads i.e. (i) Education, (ii) exposure to media and (iii) influence in village. Based on the data so collected it was found that the percentage of Villagers under different sub-heads and different land holdings was as under:-

Table-3

Itemwise and landholding wise break up of Data (General)

Item General	N=11 Landless		N=8 0-2.5 acres		N=6 2.5 to 5 acres		N=5 Above 5 acres	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Education	7	63.6	5	62.5	2	33.3	4	80
2. Exposure to media	7	63.6	5	62.5	2	33.3	4	80
3. Influence in village	1	9	4	50	2	33.3	5	100

Brief details of the analysis of each of the above items is as under:-

3.2.1.1. Education:

It was observed that level of education was higher in case of landless or progressive farmers. When this aspect was discussed with marginal and small farmers, they explained that they were too busy working in their fields right from childhood and, therefore, could not go to school. Moreover, they carry a feeling that those who are educated cannot work in fields. This view was confirmed by Sarpanch of the villages who explained that if an educated young man works in fields, each villager asks him sarcastically "if you were to work in fields only why did you go to school and wasted time and money".

This trend is also reflected under the discussion of education to their children by villagers. It was further observed that in landless class only, S/caste and S/tribe villagers, were uneducated and they also had poor perception for educating their children which can be observed from the following figures:-

Table-4-

Castewise break up of educated villagers and those interested in children education (Landless class)

	S/C	S/T	Others	Total	%
Educated	1	-	6	7	63.6
Uneducated	2	2	-	4	36.4
Interested in children education	2	-	5	7	63.6
Not interested	1	2	1	4	36.4

In other groups also level of education in S/tribes was found poor. This is primarily due to non-availability of opportunity, poverty, requirement of labour for working in fields as well as their mental attitude towards education.

3.2.1.2. Exposure to media:

Exposure to media also followed a similar trend as in the case of education, mainly because of better social mobility of educated landless and progressive farmers. Here again S/caste and S/tribe persons were found wanting. It was found that their awareness to media was also poor.

3.2.1.3. Influence in villages:

Contrary to items 1 and 2 above, the landless did not exercise any social influence on the village in spite of their being educated and having better exposure to media. Here it was observed that progressive farmers mainly exercise their influence over the village. Amongst marginal farmers it was observed that those who had some other means of income i.e. business or service, and therefore, had a higher economic status, exercise greater influence in village. This obviously shows that economic well-being has a direct relation to the influence of a villager over the village. Similar trend was also exhibited in the group of small farmers.

3.2.2. Perception of Development:

Perception of villagers to the development in the villages has been analysed under four sub-heads i.e. (1) Satisfaction to village development. (2) Functioning of Government Schemes. (3) Condition of village (4) Political awareness.

The positive perception to development as analysed refers not only to satisfaction but involvement and awareness of the villager in the developmental process. The brief analysis under each-head is given below:-

Table-5

Itemwise Breakup of data (Perception of Development)

	N = 11 Landless No. %		N = 8 0-2.5 acres No. %		N = 6 2.5-5 acres No. %		N=5 Above 5 acres No. %	
1. Satisfaction to village development	9	81.8	6	75	5	83.3	5	100
2. Function of Govt. Schemes.	11	100	7	87.5	5	83.3	3	60
3. Condition of village	8	72.7	6	75	3	50	3	60
4. Political awareness	10	90.9	6	75	6	100	5	100

3.2.2.1 Satisfaction to village development:

While progressive farmers gave a cent per cent positive perception regarding their satisfaction towards development of village, the other groups showed on an average 20% lower satisfaction. It was further observed that this satisfaction was particularly low in case of Scheduled Tribes as will be seen from the following figures:-

Table-6

Castewise breakup of Satisfaction to village development (N=30)

	S/C	S/T	Others	Total	%
Satisfied	3	4	18	25	84
Dissatisfied	1	3	1	5	16
Total	4	7	19	30	100

It was found that this dissatisfaction arose mainly out of those Scheduled Tribe members who were without any land and therefore could not make use of agricultural development schemes, they also could not secure better earnings outside due to lack of education and training. Their answers when asked about developments in last five years was "SAB KUTCH PAHLE JAISA HI HAI". They could not perceive benefits out of roads or electricity which have developed in the village during last five years as for them the main question was of earning bread. They also could not get loans under Government Schemes as they had poor land holdings or assets to mortgage as security.

3.2.2.2 Functioning of Government Schemes:

Here a particular trend will be observed from the data (see table-5) ~~that higher~~ the land holdings higher the criticism regarding functioning of the Government Schemes. It was quite interesting to look into this matter. It was found that those who had least to do with the Government Schemes felt that benefits are flowing to others and therefore gave a positive perception, but those who were entitled and tried to obtain the benefits were criticising the defects in the procedure, delays and red tapism prevailing in the Government Machinery. Out of the 5 persons interviewed in the progressive farmer group two vehemently criticised the Government procedures of implementation of schemes. This factor was further given a support as progressive farmers have greater exposure to media. Further in case of landless or marginal farmer the schemes were simpler in nature and involved minimum procedural delays leading to a better perception.

3.2.2.3 Condition of village:

Regarding the general condition of village the satisfaction level varied between 50 to 75% in various groups. Though the villages in question were reasonably developed i.e. having electricity, roads, comparatively better irrigation facility, health sub-centre, schools, cooperatives and better percentage of pucca houses but the proximity to Udaipur city has shaded the perception

There is a continuous comparison between city and village in the minds of villagers. When asked about further requirement of the village the following groupwise response was obtained from the villagers:-

Table-7

Groupwise response regarding requirements of village

Landless	Marginal farmers	Small farmer	Progressive farmer
1. Drinking water	1. Drinking water	1. Irrigation water	1. Irrigation
2. Hospital	2. Veterinary Hospital	2. Hospital	2. Hospital
3. Telephone	3. Irrigation water	3. Co-op. Stores	3. More electricity

Out of 19 villagers owning land 11 stressed the need for better irrigation while 6 out of 30 stressed the need for a hospital in the village. It was further observed that this dissatisfaction was particularly high in case of villagers engaged in Agriculture and in addition doing some job in the city where 100% villagers required additional facilities for the village. It may indirectly be also interpreted in the form that better development of the village has led to higher aspirations of villagers.

3.2.2.4 Political awareness:

There was observed an increased political awareness in various groups. Particularly the villagers were conscious about their voting rights. One major factor which explains this is the election of an enlightened and politically alert Sarpanch, apart from, the proximity to the city. It was found that each villager irrespective of caste or economic status was interested in functioning of Panchayat and election of leader.

A particularly high perception was observed in case of landless where 10 out of 11 showed political awareness. This was primarily due to a higher level of education and exposure to city. They regularly go to city to earn their livelihood and this has created more consciousness in their minds. Political awareness includes awareness to leadership, franchise and functioning of political organisations.

3.2.3 Perception of Change:

Perception of change based on the collected data has been analysed under three major heads i.e. Economic, Social and Political. Under the Economic head the perception to change has been analysed with regards to improvement in living conditions, change in mode of agriculture, planning about future of family and saving habits, whereas in case of Social head it has been analysed under change in marriage system, caste mobility and education to children and in case of Political head the analysis has been made on the basis of perception of villagers regarding functioning of village Panchayat.

3.2.3.1 Economic:

The economic change in the condition of villagers has been analysed basically under four sub-heads i.e. Improvement in living conditions, change in mode of agriculture, future of family and saving habit. The data collected in this regard is indicated in the table no. 8 below:

Table-8

Itemwise breakup of data (perception of change)
(Economic)

Perception of change	N=11		N=8		N=6		N=5	
	Landless		0-2.5 acres		2.5-5 acres		Above 5 acres	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Improvement in living conditions.	10	90.0	8	100	6	100	5	100

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2. Change in mode of Agricultural								
(a) Use of machinery.	-	-	3	37.5	6	100	4	80
(b) Use of improved inputs.	-	-	6	75	4	66.6	5	100
3. Future of family.								
	3	27.3	5	62.5	2	33.3	4	80
4. Saving habit								
	5	45.4	4	50	1	16.6	2	40

The brief analysis of the each sub-head is as under:-

3.2.3.1.1 Improvement in living conditions:

Our observations as also supported by the response from the villagers indicated that there has been improvement in the living conditions of the villagers. This was reflected by improvement in their food habits, better clothing, personal hygiene and cleanliness inside the houses. There was only one landless Scheduled Tribe person in the sample who expressed that there has been no change in the living conditions in his house or otherwise. He replied "We are living in this village for last about 25 years, we have same house, same area of land for cultivation, same food to eat and same cloths to wear". The similarity in perception of the remaining villagers is mainly because of better social mobility and personal assessment.

3.2.3.1.2 Change in mode of agricultural:

Here the mode of agriculture refers to the adoption of mechanised means of agriculture, use of high yielding variety of seeds, use of fertilisers and use of pesticides. Villagers attitudes towards adoption of better irrigation facility has also been included in the sub-head. It was observed that the mode of agriculture is not improving in case of marginal farmers, where change in their attitude is mainly a question of their economic condition. Marginal farmers have limited resources which do not

permit them to take risks. Moreover they do not have faith in officials and outsiders, under the circumstances their chances of using improved means of agriculture are restricted. In case of small and progressive farmers there is a positive perception to mechanisation as well as improved quality of inputs, obviously these groups do not suffer from the limitations suffered by the marginal group.

In the villages it was particularly observed that with the electrification of villages electric pumps have been installed by small and progressive farmers and in some cases by marginal farmers. Marginal farmers have installed such pumps by pooling their resources which shows positive improvement in their attitude towards adopting improved means of irrigation as well as the feeling of cooperation.

3.2.3.1.3 Future of Family

Except in case of progressive farmers an attitude of indifference prevailed towards future of family in other groups. It is found in general that only the educated villagers are alive to planning for future. Out of 18 educated villagers 11 were found interested in the future of their families, rest feel contented and have left it to God. There is a feeling that future is uncontrollable and there is no use planning for it. Progressive farmers perceive a better control on certain factors which determine future, they want to become the agents of change. Educated villagers favour the change due to their education and exposure to media.

3.2.3.1.4 Saving habit:

The perception towards savings was found poor in case of almost all the villagers. It was found that a large percentage of villagers in business or in service were interested in savings whereas in other cases there was hardly any interest as is clear from the following data:-

Table-9

Occupationwise saving habit(N=30)

	Agricul- turst	Business	Service	Mazdoor	Total	% -
Saves	2	3	7	Nil	12)	40%
Does not save	7	2	5	4	18)	60%

There were poor savings in case of Mazdoors and Agriculturists for which they advanced following reasons:-

- i) Low Income.
- ii) Increase in Agricultural input prices.

However it was found that while (i) was true in case of Mazdoors, it did not hold good fully in case of agriculturists. As a matter of fact Agriculturists either save in the form of silver metal or they advanced loans to other villagers. When asked about use of additional Income in case their Income is doubled following responses were received:-

Table-10

Groupwise response to reasons for saving

	Landless	0-2.5 Acres	2.5-5 Acres	5 Acres and above
Education	Land	Land	Land	
Land	House	Irrigation	House	
House	Well	Cloth	Well	
Business	Business		Progress of others.	

From the above it will be seen that land, house and irrigation are more common, none replied that he will be saving for future. Therefore rather than saving in a Bank or Post Office they want to plough back the profits for creation of capital assets. This shows perception to increased investment instead of Insurance against future calamities. It was found that number of times such investments were made by taking loans from each other in the village itself.

Therefore from the above it will be seen that the initial effort of the villagers was to improve their income rather than increasing the savings by cutting down the expenditure. Most of them remarked that unless they are able to meet their essential expenditure, there is no question for their savings for future.

3.2.3.2. Social:

The perception of change under this head has been analysed under sub head of change in marriage system, caste mobility and education to children. The data collection in this connection is tabulated below:-

Table-11

Itemwise breakup of data (Perception of change) (Social)

	N=11		N=8		N=6		N=5	
	Landless		0.25 Acres		2.5-5 Acres		Above 5 Acres	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Change in marriage system.	10	90.9	8	100	6	100	5	100
2. Caste Mobility	11	100	5	62.5	5	83.3	5	100
3. Education children	7	63.6	5	62.5	3	50	5	100

3.2.3.2.1 Change in Marriage System:

There was a complete unanimity on the issue that the marriage system in the village was changing and this change was good. Each group confirmed that there had been improvement in the system over past. According to them:

- a) Expenditure on marriage has reduced.
- b) Period of stay of Barat has reduced.
- c) Customs of demanding bride price which was prevalent in past has been done away with.
- d) The age of marriage both for Boys and Girls had gone up.

Practical observation in the village, however indicated that though in general there had been improvement in marriage system but following drawbacks still existed.

- a) Child marriages were still prevalent.
- b) Bride price is still demanded by father of the bride particularly in Scheduled Tribe where almost 100% of villagers included in sample confirmed that they will demand bride price for their daughters.
- c) Widow re-marriage was looked down upon.
- d) No consent of Boy or Girl is taken at the time of marriage.
- e) Intercaste marriages were prohibited.

There was a rigidity about above factors in the name of customs and traditions. Factors impeding change were therefore operative in this area.

Apart from the above, it was found that the distance to which now villagers go for marriage had increased from an average of about 10 kms to an average of about 30 kms. Previously the Barat used to stay for about 7 days which now stays for $1\frac{1}{2}$ day. Only three meals were given to Barat. The number of persons coming in Barat had also reduced to 25 from a figure of 100 to 150 about 10 years ago. The average expenditure for marriage of a Girls was Rs. 3000/- whereas for the marriage of a Boy was Rs. 4000/-. In case of Brahmins and Rajputs there was no widow re-marriage.

It was learnt that though higher castes are perceiving the change in system as good they were sticking to certain traditions and customs, similarly Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes though perceive reduction in expenditure for marriage as good they are still sticking to child re-marriage and demand of bride price. Therefore interplay of factors responsible for change and resistant to change are operative in the above case. However, it is observed that an appreciable trend towards improvement in the customs of marriage is visible which can lead to change in the outlook of villagers.

3.2.3.2.2. Caste mobility:

Caste mobility means the changes in the caste hierarchy from time to time and reduction in the intercaste distances. While cast mobility is perceived to have been improved by landless and progressive farmers the perception is a little different in case of marginal and small farmers. This difference is mainly brought about by the fact that while in case of landless there is increased social mobility due to their occupation, in other groups, it is not so. It was found that Scheduled tribes particularly are caste status conscious as they consider Scheduled castes low in caste status and do not accept drinking water from them. Similarly other castes also consider Scheduled Caste i.e. Salvi, Meghwals and Bagaries as inferior and do not accept drinking water from them. Caste hierarchy in the villages was found as under:-

Table-12

Caste hierarchy in the village and their occupation

<u>Caste</u>		<u>Occupation</u>	
i)	Brahmins	Agriculturist	
ii)	Sadhu	Priest	
iii)	Rajput	Agriculturist	
iv)	Dangi	Agriculturist	
v)	Kumhar	Potter	
vi)	Lohar	Blacksmith	
vii)	Suthar	Carpenter	
viii)	Nai	Barber	
ix)	Lakhera	Trading in Lakh Bangles.	
x)	Katal	Liquor trade	
xi)	Garg	Priest for S/C and S/T	
xii)	Bhat	Record Keeper	
xiii)	Nagarchi	Drum beater	
xiv)	Gumeti (Bhil)	Cultivation	
xv)	Salvi	Weaver	
xvi)	Meghwal (Chamar)	Shoe maker	} Scheduled Castes.
xvii)	Bagaria	Beggar	

Old-aged villagers are strict about caste distances whereas in case of younger generation who frequently visit city for education or service and are exposed to the media they do not keep the caste difference to that extent. They accept drinking water from lower castes/scheduled castes in city but in village they feel hesitant in reducing the caste difference. Therefore in this case also there is interplay between the factors responsible for change and factors resisting change. What is perceived as better change in caste mobility is only allowing lower caste in temples and their acceptances as Panchayat members. For the rest caste distances continued to remain same. It was however interesting to know that the lower castes and scheduled castes perceived the change as better and are satisfied with it.

3.2.3.2.3. Education to children:

Except in case of progressive farmers education of children is not perceived wholly positive. Incidence is particularly low in case of marginal and small farmers irrespective of castes, who consider that a child can be better utilised in field than in educational institutions. There are schools at Eklingpura (Primary school), Kaladwas (middle school) and at Para-ka-khet (Primary school) hamlet of Kaladwas. The sex-wise and castewise details of the students in each of the schools are given in Part-IV of the report.

It was further observed that the number of drop outs keep on increasing from lower classes to higher classes, the reasons being poor economic condition, employment of children in agriculture and non-availability of educational atmosphere at home.

It will be particularly observed that strength of girl students is low in all the schools and particularly in case of Scheduled tribes. Villagers indicated that according to them there is no use giving education to girls who have to ultimately work in house or in fields. This perception prevails in all the four groups.

It is further found that uneducated villagers mostly do not perceive education of children as positive. This can be termed as a draw back of institutionalised behaviour of the community and as a result there is resistance to directed change.

3.2.3.3 Political:

The perception of change under this head has been analysed purely on the basis of the response of the villagers towards functioning of village Panchayat. The results of their response are summarised below:-

Table-13

Breakup of data (Perception of change)(Political)

	N=11		N=8		N=6		N=5	
	Landless		0-2.5 Acres		2.5-5 Acres		Above 5 Acres	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Functioning of village Panchayat	11	100	7	87.5	6	100	2	40

From the above it will be seen that functioning of village Panchayat is found satisfactory by landless marginal and small farmers groups whereas at progressive farmers level it is perceived as unsatisfactory. The reason for this was obvious whereas low land holding groups accept members of Panchayat as their leaders, high land holding groups criticised the functioning of Panchayats as they themselves want to emerge as a leader, this shows political awareness and leadership conflict. In the case of lower land holding groups there is neither conflict for leadership nor conflict of interest.

3.3 Impediments to perception:

The factors which improved the perception of villagers with regard to development and change, have already been discussed in detail by way of carrying out analysis of data. Similarly

there are several factors which act as impediments to the perception. These factors affect independently as well as cumulatively. Major impediments to change have been studied and they are as follows:-

3.3.1 Lack of education:

It has been derived from the data as well as observed during the course of study that villagers having lack of education are not able to perceive development and change from correct angle. They are handicapped by their lack of knowledge in assessing a situation at correctly; as was seen in the case of villagers of Eklingpura and Kaladwas where uneducated villagers perceive development and change at its maximum, whereas educated villagers could perceive deficiencies and spelled out requirements. Education leads to exposure to media, which, in turn, generates a progressive outlook.

3.3.2 Institutionalised behaviour:

Change and development is viewed in a different perspective when a man is subject to institutionalised behaviour. Such a situation is very clear in case of change in marriage system where, in spite of adequate changes in the condition of village, old customs of child marriage and accepting bride price are still prevalent. In case of S/tribes particularly the rate of change has been impeded by institutionalised behaviour.

3.3.3 Customs and traditions:

Customs and traditions are one of the major impediments to change. In case of the present study, its effects have been highlighted while discussing caste mobility and education of children. On account of the customs, in spite of their being no apparent cause for continuance of non-acceptance of drinking water from lower caste and endogamous marriages these practices continue. Therefore, it is clear that reasons and rationality give way to customs and traditions leading to incorrect and imperfect perception.

3.3.4 Backwardness of women:

In spite of development and change at Eklingspura and Kaladwas there has hardly been any dent on the status of women. It was mainly on account of the fact that there were no schemes which touched female life in particular. They continue to be uneducated, married at young age without choice, have no say in family matters, are not permitted to wear footwear and are not allowed in male meeting places. Therefore in spite of female population in these villages being of the order of 48.2% women hardly had any perception towards development and change. Only redeeming feature was inclusion of village women in panchayat and adult education schemes.

3.3.5 Lack of communication and publicity about government programmes:

It was observed that the perception of the villagers was also affected due to lack of communication and publicity about Government programmes. In the present study, it was found that while on account of enlightened Sarpanch, some of the govt. schemes were well-known in village, it was surprising to note that the details of tribal area development programme were not known to the all villagers or even officials. Some of the villagers interviewed at Para-ka-Khet, (tribal area) indicated that there were no schemes in their knowledge regarding tribal area development excepting advancing of loans and subsidies. Commissioner of tribal area development gave a detailed account of various schemes included in the tribal development programme and indicated that there is no different implementing machinery for this programme as well as there is no clear demarcation in development works required for tribals or non-tribals. He further indicated that all out efforts were being made in regard to societal development as well as individual family development of tribal population.

3.3.6

Distrust of officials and outsiders:

There was a general feeling amongst the villagers of distrust towards outsiders and officials and as a result of it frank reactions were not received in the beginning of the study. It was found that each villager tried to give answers in a roundabout way on account of the following reasons:-

- a) They thought that the study was meant for increasing levy on the produce by the villagers;
- b) They were afraid of going into bad books of village officials in case their answers go against the intetests of the village officials;
- c) Poor experience of Cooperative Societies where loans were advanced by these societies to the villagers and were subsequently recovered in spite of crop failures.

The above factors caused deteriorated perception instead of clear and upright one. During the later period of the investigations the villagers complained about non-availability of VLW at Kaladwas for over 6 months. In absence of VLW, they were finding it difficult to find solution of their agricultural problems. Similarly, it was only near the end of the study that the villagers came out with the difficulties that they feel in getting the sanctions of loans and helps from Government machinery. As already mentioned they vehemently criticised the procedure of implementation of schemes and spoke about red tapism prevalent in the Government machinery.

3.4

Summary and Conclusion

A detailed disposition and background of the village has been given in Part-I of the report to enable the objective analysis of data and appraisal of problems of the village. As Wilkening observed "... we must study change not only as a matter of individual choice and action but also as a function of social systems of various types and various levels. The studies of farm practice adoption points more and more to the importance of group norms, pressures and processes as the important determinants in the acceptance of innovations".¹

1. Danda Ajit K., Development and Change in Basudha, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1971, pp.116.

The background of the villagers in which they operate is the primary factor to involve their perception towards development and change, because in the rural community, the influence of institutional and socio-cultural factors have a considerable bearing in forming perception. Our analysis shows that at Eklingspura and Kaladwas the land holding pattern was one of the major factors in determining the response of villagers to development schemes. Similarly community structure was one of the basic determinants in process of change. It was revealed from the present study that factionalism in the village was only at the subdued level and the cementing factors in the village life were both economic as well as non-economic in nature.

Contrary to the popular findings of great factionalism in the village due to election system of village officials, at Eklingspura and Kaladwas, the villagers showed their confidence in Sarpanch. This can be attributed to dynamic leadership provided by panchayat Sarpanch who is heading the panchayat with effect from 1977. His prestige was further improved as a result of visit of Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister of Australia to village Eklingspura on 31-1-1979; who also granted to the village a grant of Rs. 30,000 for development of the village.

Let us at this stage test the various hypotheses formulated while deciding upon aims and objects of the study.

Hypothesis-I:

"Development and change may be perceived differently by different cross-sections of society". There was a clear indication to the effect that in spite of deriving maximum advantage from development of village, progressive farmers class continue to aspire for further development and they therefore, show greater dissatisfaction towards the Government scheme and conditions of village.

Superficially villagers' participation in various development programmes seemed quite intensive; but a close observation showed that it is only progressive farmers and a

limited number of small farmers who have really been benefited by Government schemes. It was found that a number of factors were responsible for this, such as:-

- a) Lack of proper irrigation facilities;
- b) Poor earnings besides subsidiary occupation in the village of marginal and small farmers;
- c) Lack of education;
- d) Lack of communication between village level worker and small and marginal farmers who have to spend a good deal of their time in their fields.

It was observed that marginal and small farmers with limited income were not able to adopt improved measures due to non-availability of finance, they were also reluctant to take loans as they do not want to put their land which is only and limited means of livelihood at a risk. One good feature about these groups was that marginal and small farmers have pooled their resources for installation of electric pumps to improve irrigation facilities in the village. It had already been highlighted while discussing the effect of education and exposure to media on the perception of villagers that the level of dissatisfaction rises with education as well as exposure to media. Therefore, the hypothesis that the perception of development and change is different in different cross-sections of society gets supported.

Hypothesis-II:

"With the increase of education and exposure to mass media and communication, development and change is perceived in a positive way". While discussing the effects of education and exposure to mass media on perception it has already been indicated that an increase in interaction between villagers and urban population particularly in the categories of landless labourers and large land-holders they feel more involved in the process of development and change. While landless labourers go to

the town for earning their livelihood, the villagers having large land holdings have to go to various district and block officials in the city for obtaining improved inputs for their agriculture. The small and marginal farmers who entirely depend on their agriculture do not get sufficient chance of intermixing with the urban society and, therefore, do not feel involved in the process of development and change. As highlighted while discussing the functioning of the village panchayat, the large land-holders aspire for the leadership and want to become the agents of change. Therefore, the hypothesis that with the increase of education and exposure to media and communication there is a positive perception to development, is borne out.

Hypothesis-III-

"Higher the political socialisation and economic status, greater is the perception of development and change". The importance of economic status of a villager in a village society is very clear from the discussion of influence of a villager in a village where it has been found that in spite of education a landless villager does not exercise any influence on the village society whereas large land-holders who have economically higher status exercise a good deal of influence on the village. Similarly as regards the political socialisation is concerned, the villagers with higher economic status are much more active in participation in various development programmes and schemes. They showed a great awareness towards the problems of the village. It is, therefore, evident that higher the political socialisation and economic status, greater is the perception of development and change.

Apart from the testing of hypothesis on the basis of analysis of data, following further observations were made with regard to changes in village:-

The efficiency of modern medicine has proved beyond doubt, though traditional beliefs in the mode of healing by

'mantras' etc. also persists especially in tribal population. Hence both are supplementary to one another and villagers are by and large rational in their approach. Almost all the respondents confirmed that their children have been administered small pox vaccination.

There were also clear signs of the occupational mobility i.e. persons changing their occupation as and when necessary. While certain castes, like Lakhera, Nagarchi, Kumhar and Suthar are taking to their traditional occupation exhibiting horizontal mobility other castes such as Nai, Lohar, Salvi, Chamar are taking to secular occupations which shows desire for occupational mobility and modernization showing a trend of vertical mobility.

There was a great awareness amongst villagers about adult franchise. In spite of a great influence of Sarpanch on the villagers they indicated their independence in the matter of voting.

It can therefore be concluded that both the villages Eklingspura and Kaladwas present the picture of traditionality mixed with modernity and perception of a villager is primarily influenced by the factors, such, as, land holding, education, exposure to media, caste and various other factors.

PART-IV

Annexures and Photographs

- Annexure-1 Copy of Questionnaire used for study.
- Annexure-2 Details of schools running at Eklingpura and Kaladwas.
- Annexure-3 Details of works done and in progress under food for work programme at Eklingpura and Kaladwas.
- Photograph-1 Fraser Lane:-The road leading to village Eklingpura named after memorable visit of Shri Malcolm Fraser, Australian Prime Minister.
- Photograph-2 Primary school, Eklingpura.
- Photograph-3 Anicut under progress at village Eklingpura for storage of irrigation water.
- Photograph-4 Nadikhara, Kaladwas, built under food for work programme.

प्रश्नावली
=====

॥क॥ निजी विवरण
=====

1. नाम
2. लिंग
3. गांव का नाम
4. आयु
5. जाति
6. व्यवसाय
7. गांव में निवास की अवधि
8. परिवार का विवरण
9. किस कक्षा तक पढ़ाई की है
10. परिवार में कौन कितना पढ़ा है

॥ख॥ विभिन्न माध्यमों और घूमने का प्रभाव
=====

1. गांव से बाहर कितना जाते हैं
2. गांव के बाहर के लोगों से कितना मिलते हैं
3. पास के शहर में कितना जाते हैं
4. अखबार और पत्रिकाएँ पढ़ते हैं क्या
5. रेडियो सुनना
6. सिनेमा देखना
7. परिवार के अन्य सदस्यों कौन से माध्यम उपयोग करते हैं

8. समाचारों में रुचि

॥ ग ॥ गांव में प्रभावशीलता
=====

1. क्या गांव के लोग आपके पास सलाह लेने आते हैं। यदि हाँ तो किन मामलों में और कौन लोग आते हैं

चिकित्सा

खेतीबारी और व्यवसाय

व्यापार

जरीदारी

परिवार का भविष्य

राजनीति ॥ वोट देना ॥

2. आप सलाह लेने किसके पास जाते हैं निम्नलिखित मामलों में

चिकित्सा

खेतीबारी और व्यवसाय

व्यापार

जरीदारी

परिवार का भविष्य

राजनीति ॥ वोट देना ॥

॥ घ ॥ प्रगति के बारे में ज्ञान और विचार
=====

1. क्या गांव में प्रगति हो रही है

2. क्या आप प्रगति से संतुष्ट हैं
3. क्या गाँव में ख़ाहाली बढ़ रही है
4. क्या आप अपनी आमदनी से संतुष्ट हैं
5. विभिन्न सरकारी कार्यक्रमों से क्या गाँव को लाभ हुआ है
6. यह लाभ किन लोगों को पहुँचा है
7. क्या आप कार्यक्रमों को लागू करने की विधि से संतुष्ट हैं
8. कार्यक्रमों को कैसा ज्यादा लाभप्रद बनाया जा सकता है
9. जो कठिनायी अभी आपको लगती है क्या अस्थायी है
10. आपका इस कथन पर क्या विचार है
"हमें आपकी कठिनायी को वहन करना है क्योंकि आगे आने वाली ख़ाहाली के लिये यह सारा जरूरी है"
11. सरकार और क्या कर सकती है जिससे ख़ाहाली गाँव में आये और यह गाँव आपके विचार में अच्छा से अच्छा हो सके
12. क्या गाँव में यदि ठीक से कार्य न हो तो ख़राब से ख़राब स्थिति हो सकती है
13. सरकारी कार्यक्रमों और गाँव की ख़ाहाली सलग्न सीढ़ी में कहाँ पर है
14. सरकारी कार्यक्रमों को सफल बनाने के लिये और क्या किया जा सकता है

15. यदि आप गाँव के मुखिया बना दिये जायें
तो आप गाँव की किन कठिनाइयों को
दूर करेंगे

सफाई और स्वास्थ्य

चिकित्सा

सड़कें

पीने का पानी

पढ़ाई की व्यवस्था

बाजार की व्यवस्था

चुनाव व्यवस्था

सरकारी कार्यक्रमों की संचालन व्यवस्था

सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था

सहकारिता

अच्छे बीज और खाद की व्यवस्था

बैंक

{च} सामाजिक परिवर्तन
=====

1. क्या आपके विचार से आपकी आर्थिक
स्थिति का प्रभाव आपके रहन-सहन
पर भी पड़ा है। यदि हाँ तो किन
भागों पर {परिवार, विवाह, राजनैतिक
सामाजिक जीवन, इत्यादि

2. आपके परिवार में पिछले पाँच वर्षों में क्या कुछ बदला है
3. विवाह करने की प्रथा में भी क्या कोई विभिन्नता आयी है
4. न्याय के लिये पिछले पाँच वर्षों से आप कहाँ जाते रहे हैं
5. क्या आप समझते हैं कि आमदनी बढ़ने से जाति बंधनों में परिवर्तन हुआ है
6. धार्मिक कार्यक्रमों के लिये आप कहाँ जाते हैं {पिछले पाँच वर्षों से}
7. अपने बच्चों को कहाँ पढ़ने भेजते रहे हैं या भेजते हैं
8. क्या आप किसी संध या दल के सदस्य या पदाधिकारी हैं
9. यदि आपकी आमदनी दुगुनी हो जाये तो आप अतिरिक्त आमदनी का क्या उपयोग करेंगे
10. निम्न के काम करने के तरीकों के बारे में आपके क्या विचार हैं

ग्राम पंचायत

ग्राम सेवक

अन्य

{छ}{ भविष्य के बारे में योजना
=====

1. क्या आपकी आमदनी काफी है

2. क्या आप पैसा बचाते हैं
3. कहाँ बचाते हैं
4. किसलिये बचाते हैं
5. यदि अभी नहीं बचाते तो क्या भविष्य में बचत का विचार है
6. यदि आप बचत कर सकें तो किस लिये करेंगे
7. अपने परिवार के भविष्य के बारे में आपकी क्या योजना है
लड़कों के लिये
लड़कियों के लिये
8. आप अपने बच्चों को भविष्य में क्या बनाना चाहते हैं

॥ज॥ परिवर्तन कौन लाया
=====

1. क्या आप जेतीबारी में मशीनों का उपयोग करते हैं यदि हाँ तो कहाँ से प्रता लगा और मशीनें कैसे खरीदी
2. यदि आप व्यवसायी हैं तो यह व्यवसाय कैसे चुना
3. जेतीबारी के कौन से आधुनिक तरीके उपयोग में लाते हैं कहाँ से सीखे

Details of Schools

Kaladwas Middle School

1. No. of Teachers - 8
2. Year of starting 1952
3. No. of students - Boys 169, Girls 17, Total 186.

	Boys	Girls
Scheduled Caste	21	2
Scheduled Tribe	19	1
Total	30	3

Eklingspura Primary School:

1. No. of Teachers - 2
2. Year of Start 1970.
3. No. of students - Boys 75, Girls 21, Total 96

	Boys	Girls
Scheduled Caste	7	5
Scheduled Tribe	11	1
	18	6

Para-ka-khet Primary School

1. No. of Teachers - 1.
2. Year of Start 1979.
3. No. of Students - Boys, 39, Girls 3, Total 42.

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Scheduled Caste	-	-
Scheduled Tribe	38	-
	<u>38</u>	<u>Nil</u>

Annexure-3

Details of works done and in progress under food for work programme at Eklingspura and Kaladwas

EKLINGPURA

	Sanctioned amount (Rs.)	Wheat in Quintals	Wheat distributed (Rs.)	Cash distributed (Rs.)	Total (Rs.)
1. Approach Road Eklingspura	5000/-	50	Q. 42.00.500 Rs. 4700.00	2000/-	6700/-
2. Primary School Building	24550/-	83	Q. 76.39.350 Rs. 8574.35	11562.21	20136.56
3. Eklingspura School Boundary	20000/-	85	Q. 62.03.000 Rs. 8746.23	8000/-	16746.23
4. Eklingspura Anicut	64000/-	202	Q. 94.62.000 Rs. 13427.32	14000/-	27427.32
<u>KALADWAS</u>					
1. Raniji Bawdi to Kaladwas Road	25000/-	140	Q. 101.40.00 Rs. 14297.40	7205.60	21503/-
2. Nadikhara Kaladwas	50000/-	140	Q. 150.28.500 Rs. 21190.18	21000.90	42190.18

CONSUMPTION PATTERN

VILLAGE STUDY REPORT

Subject : **CONSUMPTION PATTERN**

A study of Eklingpura and Kaladwas Villages

Block : Girwa

District : Udaipur, Rajasthan

V. K. SETH

Roll No. 627



Sixth Advanced Professional Programme in Public Administration

Indian Institute of Public Administration
Indraprastha Estate
Ring Road
New Delhi-110002

DECEMBER 1980

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DECEMBER 1980

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI

Sixth Advanced Professional Programme in Public Administration

VILLAGE STUDY

As a part of the above programme, a team of seven members, with Dr. B.M. Varma of the IIPA as Supervisor, conducted a socio-economic study of two villages - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - in the Girwa Block of Udaipur District in Rajasthan for two weeks from December 1, 1980. The members of the team and the subjects of their study are given below:-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Subjects</u>
1. Shri P.K. Bagchi	Pattern of indebtedness and bondage.
2. Shri P.U.C. Chowdary	Inter-Caste relations.
3. Shri L.R. Julka	Condition of agricultural labour.
4. Shri D.C. Mishra	Perception of development & change.
5. Shri V.K. Seth	Consumption Pattern.
6. Shri M.P. Vasudeva	Cropping and input use pattern.
7. Miss R. Vijayalakshmi	Status of women.

The broad framework of the report is as under:-

- Part-I. Carries a brief description of Udaipur District, the Girwa Block and the two villages of Eklingpura and Kaladwas. It also explains the reasons for selection of these two villages for the above study. This portion has been prepared jointly by the study team from the information collected, as well as that supplied by the District Administration.
- Part-II Gives a general introduction of the specific subject of study, the objectives and the methodology followed.
- Part-III Presents an analysis of the data collected and the conclusions of the member concerned.
- Part-IV Contains supporting annexures.

The members of the study team are grateful to the officials of the District Administration of Udaipur, who extended the necessary assistance and co-operation in all possible manner to enable the team to conduct a meaningful study. The members also place on record their deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Varma, who, besides being a source of inspiration, rendered valuable guidance all through.

C O N T E N T S

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Part II - Introduction, Objectives, Conceptual Framework and Methodology	... " 6
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PART I

PROFILE OF THE DISTRICT, FLOCK AND THE VILLAGES

Hallowed by the heroic battles fought by Maharana Pratap against Akbar's mighty Mughal forces, Mewar, the Kingdom of Sisodia Rajputs, occupies a unique place in the Indian History. Udaipur, founded in the year 1567 by Maharana Uda Singh, was the last of the capitals of the State of Mewar.

Thoughts of the desert seem a mirage in the serene coolness of the lake-borne city of Udaipur. Cupped with soft-green hills, the opiate beauty of this city is like a joyous miracle in the dusty, wind-blown heat of Rajasthan. Still evoking the rich sensibilities of a royal lineage, long gone by, the dreamy city of Udaipur is unique in its elusive, feminine quality amongst the masculine citadels of Rajasthan. Shimmering and twinkling, the lakes of Pichola, Fatch Sagar, Swaroop Sagar and Uda Sagar give the city its haunting beauty.

Historically famous and culturally rich, the present district of Udaipur abounds with a number of interesting places. Haldighati, where a valiant battle was fought by Rana Pratap, riding his gallant horse, Chetak, is in this district. Nathdwara, where the great temple of Srinathji enshrines a unique monolithic black-stone image of Sri Krishna, is only fortyeight kilometres north of Udaipur. The Eklingji temple, on the shores of a lake, houses the presiding deity of the Ranas of Mewar.

Situated around 75° longitude and 24° latitude, in the South-western part of Rajasthan, Udaipur district is dotted with green, lofty and minerally rich Aravalli ranges. Endowed with a temperate and healthy climate, the district has seventeen tehsils, divided into eighteen blocks.

The district is predominantly rural, with 3,116 villages and 92 per cent of the population living in villages. The ancient tribe of Bhils, also known as Gamethis, whose close association with the Ranas of Mewar was symbolised in the emblem of that State, constitute a sizable one-third of the population of the district. Latest estimates put the total population of the district at 2.4 million.

Agriculture forms the backbone of the district with two-thirds of the population making a living out of it. Due to the hilly terrain, the area is rocky and uneven, with very low water table. The rainfall is also scanty, averaging around 630 mms. The rural economy, which has to sustain itself through agriculture, is adversely affected by the vagaries of nature. The rainfall is often quite untimely and erratic. The district is also drought-prone and has been famine-stricken for the last four years continuously, causing damage to the economic equilibrium.

The farmers in the district have to put forth more than average efforts to eke out a living. Man-made distortions and fragmentation of land have also contributed to the situation. The district, with predominantly small land holdings, has a total area of two million hectares of which only 18 per cent is cultivated. The area under more than one crop constitutes only 43 per cent of the cultivated area. Nearly three-fourths of the holdings are under three hectares, while holdings below one hectare account for half of the cultivated area.

The principal crop is maize, which is evident from the famous slogan in the area - "Gehoon Chodna Makki Khana, Mewar Chodkar Kahin na Jana". Other important crops are wheat, barley, gram and pulses. Foodgrains account for 85 per cent and Oil-seeds for 8 per cent of the total area under cultivation.

The district has been declared by the Government as an industrially-backward area. However, a few large and medium scale industries have sprung up in and around Udaipur city. These include the Hindustan Zinc Limited, J&K Tyres Ltd., Pesticides India Ltd., Udaipur Cotton Mills, etc. While there are 731 units in the small-scale sector, cottage and household industries number about 11,500. The employment potential of these industrial units works out to a meagre 6 per cent of the total work force available in the district.

The Block:

The Girwa Panchayat Samiti is contiguous to Udaipur City. The

Samiti consists of 161 villages and 35 Gram Panchayats. The population of the Samiti is 2.34 lakhs out of which 56,000 belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Out of a total area of 1.31 lakh hectares, only 0.25 lakh hectares are cultivable. The land holdings are also small with 85 per cent of the total holdings being under three hectares.

The Samiti is thus fairly representative of the district with regard to the occupational patterns, area under cultivation, land holdings, distribution of population, etc.

The Villages under Focus:

Two adjacent villages, Eklingpura and Kaladwas, along with a third village Manwakhera, form part of the Gram Panchayat of Kaladwas. The two villages selected for study - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - are about a kilometre apart from each other and lie on the Udaipur-Jhamar Kotra Road and are about seven and ten kilometres respectively from the district headquarters of Udaipur.

Both these villages were established around 1450 AD. The Bhils, who were natives of the area, were displaced by the Dangis, the farmers' community. Originally known as Rohiad Pura, the village Eklingpura obtained its name during the reign of Maharaja Bhupal Singh of Mewar State. Eklingji, as already mentioned, is the presiding deity of the State of Mewar. There is an old Shiva temple in the village, in a cave, which is the oldest structure in the area. 'Poornima Mela', a village fair, is held on every full-moon day.

These villages had the distinction of having received a foreign dignitary, when Mr. Malcolm Fraser, the Australian Prime Minister, visited them in January 1979. This historic visit has been commemorated by naming the road leading to Eklingpura as 'Fraser Lane'. Para

Parakakhet is a hamlet of Kaladwas, wherein live the Scheduled Tribe, the Bhils or Gamethis. It is two-and-a-half kilometres from the main village.

WHY THESE TWO VILLAGES WERE SELECTED FOR STUDY ?

The selection of these two villages for the purpose of this study was made on the basis of accessibility, exposure to various development programmes and proximity with block and district headquarters. These villages are also representative villages of the district with regard to rainfall, proportion of irrigated land and tribal population.

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE VILLAGES

The following are the salient features of the villages under study:

<u>Population:</u>	<u>Kaladwas</u>	<u>Eklingspura</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male	719	416	1135
Female	669	357	1026
Total:	1388	773	2161
Scheduled Castes	116	43	159
Scheduled Tribes	433	112	545
<u>Households:</u>			
a) Kaccha	300	105	405
b) Pakka	45	54	99
Total:	345	159	504
<u>Literacy:</u>			
Number of literates	351	271	622
Number of illiterates	1037	502	1539
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Occupations:</u>			
Number of workers	416	259	675
Number of non-workers.	972	514	1486
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Workers:</u>			
Cultivation	261	177	438
Household industries	10	4	14
Manufacturing	40	9	49
Construction	25	11	36
Agricultural Labourers	9	10	19
Trade & Commerce	7	4	11
Mining	11	5	16
Others	53	39	92
Total:	416	259	675
<u>Area: (in acres)</u>			
a) Geographical Area	2090	1823	3913
b) Area under cultivation	780	724	1504
i) Area irrigated	477	359	836
ii) Area unirrigated	303	365	668
Total:	780	724	1504
No. of wells with electric pump-sets	51	35	86
No. of tractors in the village	-	1	1

* According to 1971 Census.

-:: 5 ::-

<u>Crops: (in acres)</u>	<u>Kaladwas</u>	<u>Eklingpura</u>	<u>Total</u>
a) <u>Kharif</u>			
Maize	359	309	668
Sugarcane	38	23	61
Vegetables	13	18	31
Other Crops	59	25	84
Total:	469	375	844
b) <u>Rabi</u>			
Wheat	164	201	365
Barley	86	80	166
Gram	30	39	69
Vegetables	4	8	12
Fodder	27	21	48
Total:	311	349	660

Land-holdings:

Less than 2.5 acres	231	72	303
2.5 to 5 acres	57	50	107
5.1 to 7.5 acres	30	16	46
7.6 to 10.0 acres	10	10	20
Above 10 acres	17	11	28
Total:	345	159	504

Other Details:

Schools:

No. of primary schools	1	1	2
No. of middle schools	1	-	1

Students:

No. of boys	208	75	283
No. of girls	20	21	41
Total:	228	96	324

Post Office	1	-	1
Sub-centre of Health	1	-	1

Distance from District Headquarters	10 Km	7 Km	
Distance from Block Headquarters	10 Km	5 Km	
Distance from Railway Station	5 Km	6 Km	

....

नजरी नक्शा ग्राम कलउवास

तहसील गिरगा जिला उदयपुर (राजस्थान)

3 तर

सरहद गांधी प्रेम भवन

नजरी नक्शा

जिला उदयपुर में स्थित है

म. ग. क. म. भवन
J.C. J.C. J.C.
J.C. J.C. J.C.

उपस्थिति
J.C. J.C. J.C.

सिमेंट वाट

म. ग. क. म. भवन

म. ग. क. म. भवन

उदयपुर से उदयपुर के लिए जाने वाली
राह का नक्शा

ऊपर की ओर

पुष्प गांव

एन. ज. पुरी

उदयपुर से उदयपुर के लिए जाने वाली

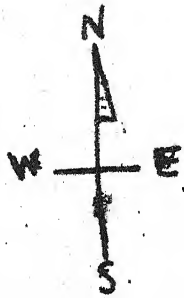
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नजरी

नजरी नक्शा

नजरा नकशा ग्राम कलउवास

तहसील - गिर्वा जिला अकपुरा (राजस्थान)

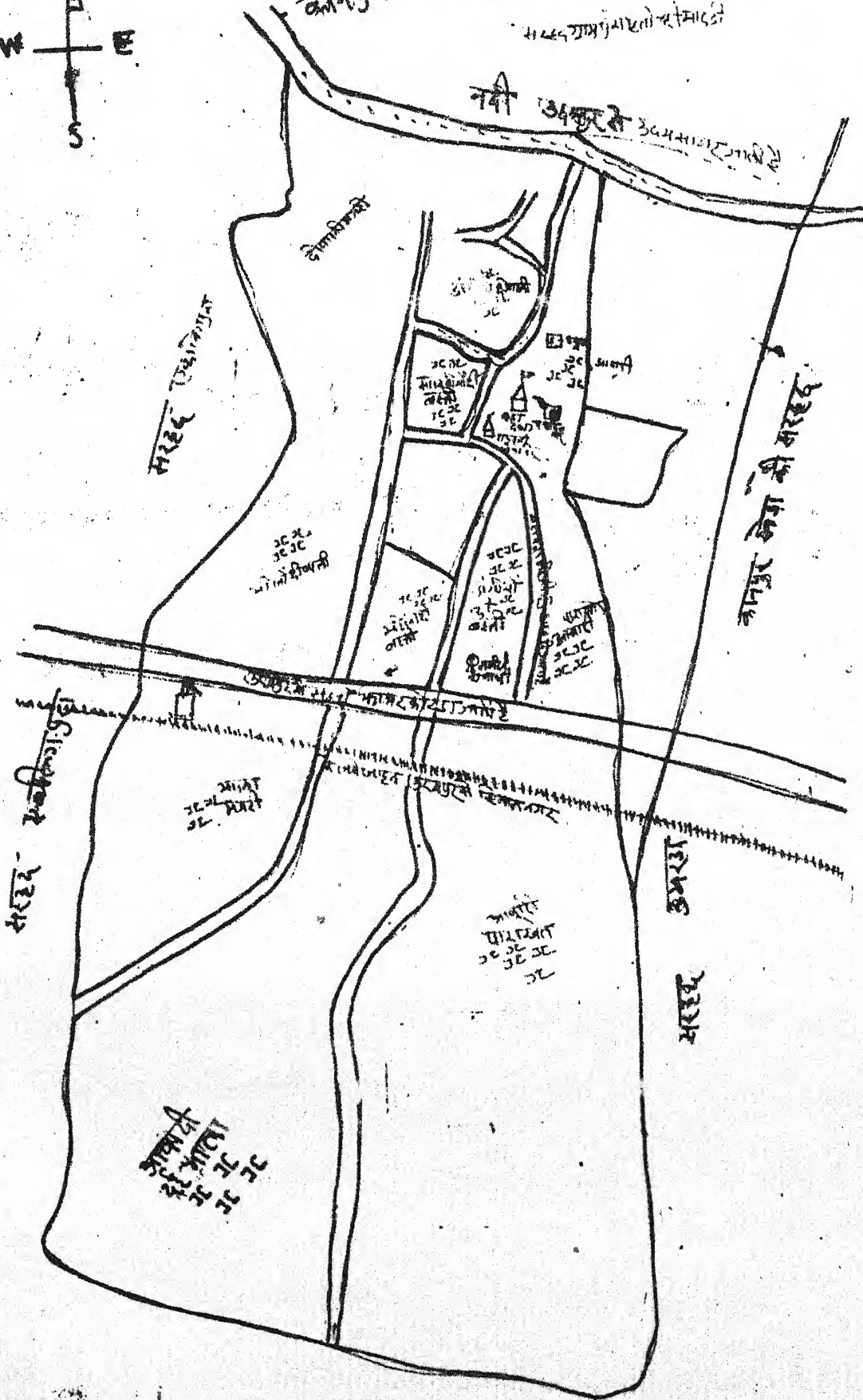


हमूरा कानपुर

उत्तर

सर्वेक्षण ग्राहक महोदय महोदय

नदी अकुर से अकम सागर जाति है



शुर्वा

सरहद डाक सेटडा

PART - II

INTRODUCTION, OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

2.1.1. A study of consumption pattern of the villages in a predominantly rural economy has become a subject matter of great concern and also of tremendous utility. While it indicates changes in the outlook of the rural masses, their eating and living habits, it is perhaps the most important single aspect which gives a true idea of the living standard and economic status of a household. It can indicate whether the members of the household in question are eating a balanced diet or the same suffers from certain deficiencies which may result in malnutrition. It indicates the relative expenditure incurred on food and non-food items. It reflects, though somewhat indirectly, the educational pattern of the family, its social standing in the village community and the modernity or the traditional nature and conservatism of its outlook.

2.1.2. Equally important, if not more is the fact that a study of the consumption pattern enables a determination of the demand for consumer goods.

2.1.3. This study deals with the consumption pattern of a representative sample of households of the villages of Eklingpura and Kaladwas of Girwa Tehsil in Udaipur District.

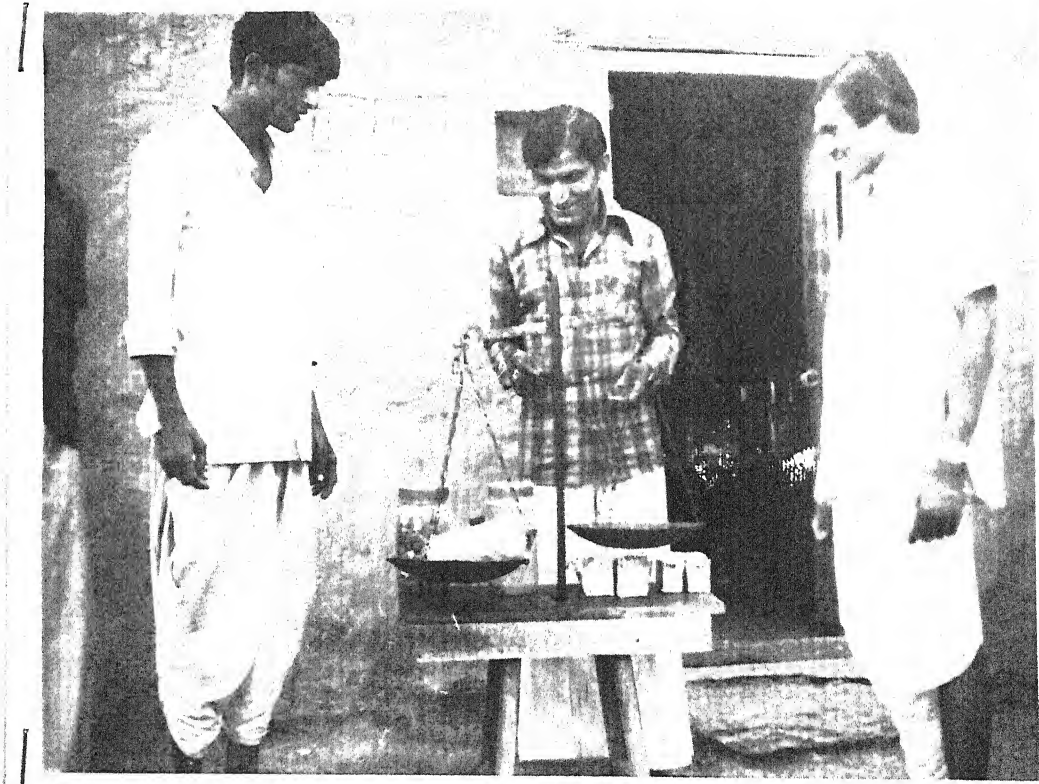
2.1.4 In the two villages selected for the study the total number of households was 504. Out of these, 303 possess no land or holdings below 2.5 acres. 107 households possess land holdings between 2.5 and 5 acres per household (small farmers) and 94 households possess land holdings measuring over 5 acres per household (progressive farmers). (Table 1)

Table 1

Distribution of population (households in the two villages) by land holdings

Size of total land holdings	0-2.5 acres (includes landless)	2.5 to 5.0 acres	More than 5 acres	Total
No. of households	303	107	94	504
Percentage out of total	60.12	21.23	18.65	100%

A substantial proportion of population of the villages depends for livelihood on agriculture or agricultural labour. In addition, there are also households, some/all of whose members are engaged in government/private service/business and trade exclusively or in combination with agriculture. There are 10 shops in the Eklingspura and 7 in Kaladwas. The shops in Eklingspura sell general stores, tea and cigarettes. There are also a tailor and an atta or flour mill. The shops in Kaladwas cater to similar needs except that there is no tailor or a flour mill.



**A shop in Eklingpura
(selling general stores and grocery)**

2.2 OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of the Study are stated as below:

- (a) to ascertain the variation in consumption level/ consumption expenditure pattern of food items in relation to the occupational status and in relation to family size
- (b) to assess how far the food habits of the villagers conform to the norms of a balanced diet prescribed by nutrition experts
- (c) to study the variation of consumption expenditure on non-food items in relation to occupational status and family size
- (d) to compare the relative consumption expenditure on food and non-food items for various occupational groups.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

The definitions adopted for the important concepts used in the present study are given below:

- (a) Households - A household is a group of persons usually living together and taking principal meals from a common kitchen.

- (b) Consumption expenditure - It comprises all expenditure incurred by the household exclusively on domestic account. The expenditure on household enterprises is excluded. Similarly expenditures on purchase and construction of residential houses are considered to be expenses on capital account and hence are excluded, but the expenditure towards maintenance is included in the consumption expenditure. Briefly stated items of current living including expenditure of a recurring nature have been covered by the study.
- (c) Consumption Unit - For the purpose of determining consumption per unit, while adopting the occupational status criterion children upto 12 years have been treated as half a unit.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that various definitions of consumption units are being used by different organisations and authors and the definition of a consumption unit is highly controversial. A study conducted by the Labour Bureau treats an adult male as 1 unit, adult female 0.9 unit, child (below 15 years - 0.6 unit). The Atwaters Adult Male Units, as given at page 17 of the "Chinese" Farm Economy" by Buck is reproduced below:-

Age in Years	Equivalent Adult Male Units	
	Male	Female
Adult over 16	1.0	0.8
15-16	0.9	0.8
13-14	0.8	0.7
12	0.7	0.6
10-11	0.6	0.6
6-9	0.5	0.5
2-5	0.4	0.4
Under 2	0.3	0.3

For ration purposes in Delhi, children above the age of 8 years are treated as 2 units and those below as 1 unit. The railways and the transport services ^{for} toward children upto age 12 as half a unit.

This paper has adopted the last named criterion.

It was considered too simplistic to give the same weightage to a child as to an adult for determining consumption levels per unit. The criterion adopted by the rationing authorities was not considered to be quite logical while the rest were considered to be a bit too complicated for a brief study of the nature of the present one.

2.4 METHODOLOGY

2.4.1 A study of the data relating to the land holdings of area under study revealed that in the two villages taken together, about 60 per cent of the households possess no land or holdings below 2.5 acres, 21.23 per cent between 2.5 and 5 acres and 18.65 per cent and above 5 acres. The sample of 30 taken from the two villages was therefore so

chosen that the proportion in each group more or less tallied with the proportion obtaining in the population (i.e. the total number of households in the two villages). (Table 2)

Table 2

Distribution of sample by land holding size

Size of total land holdings	0-2.5 acres (includes landless	2.5 to 5.0 acres	More than 5 acres	Total
No. of households	19	6	5	30
Percentage out of total	63.33	20	16.67	100

Accordingly, out of 30 households 19 belonged to the first category, 6 to the second and 5 to the third, giving a percentage of 63.66, 20 and 16.6 per cent respectively.

2.4.2 The information elicited during interviews however revealed that the agricultural class, irrespective of the size of the total landholdings possessed by them, by and large follow one pattern of consumption, while those engaged in service, trade etc. exclusively or deriving a major part of their earnings from such occupations even though owning some land seemed to follow a somewhat different pattern of consumption. The sample households were therefore regrouped into these two broad categories. The first group (of agriculturists) was however further subdivided into three

broad sub-groups of marginal farmers with total land holdings upto 2.5 acres, small farmers possessing land between 2.5 and 5 acres and progressive farmers with above 5 acres (Table 3). This was done for studying the variations in consumption levels in relation to the size of total land holding.

Table 3

Distribution of sample households by Occupational status

Occupational status	Marginal farmer (upto 2.5 acres)	Small farmers (with 2.5 to 5 acres)	Progressive farmers (with over 5 acres)	Others	Total
Number of households	9	4	5	12	30
Number of consumption units	44	15	29.5	50.5	139
Average number of units per family	4.89	3.75	5.9	4.21	4.63

Average number of consumption units per household for the sample = 4.63

2.4.3 It will not be out of place to mention here that this categorization into four groups instead of 8 or 9 occupational groups was preferred mainly because of the smallness of the sample size. Care was, however, taken

to ensure that the sample included all the main castes and communities of the two villages.

2.4.4 The method was that of interview based on a pre-determined questionnaire. A copy of the questionnaire is reproduced in Annexure . This was however further supplemented by personal observation, discussions with village, block and district officials and non-officials.

2.4.5 In respect of those food items for which quantitative assessment could be made the same was noted and an analysis made based thereon. In respect of others where quantitative assessment was not possible an estimate of the expenditure per month was made. For the purpose of analysis of the food items therefore the consumption has been determined under the following heads:

- (i) Cereals and products
- (ii) Pulses and products
- (iii) Oilseeds, oils and fats
- (iv) Milk and products
- (v) Sugar and jaggery
- (vi) Others

The last category viz. others includes vegetables and products, fruits and products, tea, condiments, spices etc.

2.4.6 In respect of the non-food items, expenditure has been assessed under the following heads:

- (i) Clothing and Footwear
- (ii) Tobacco
- (iii) Education
- (iv) Others

The last category namely 'Others' included expenses on pan supari, alcoholic beverages, fuel and light, household repairs, water charges, furniture, household appliances, medical care, personal care, recreation, transport communications, expenses on marriages, religious ceremonies and festivals and any other item not included in the first three categories.

2.4.7 For working out expenditure on food items for the purpose of present analysis the prices as on 1.12.1980 as per list supplied by the District Supply Office, Udaipur have been used for cereals and pulses. In respect of other items the prices as obtaining in the villages and as quoted by the interviewees have been used.

2.4.8 In respect of the four categories^{*} mentioned above, the percentage of monthly expenditure incurred by each category on food items has been worked out in addition to the daily consumption of various kinds of food items per consumption unit.

2.4.9 For studying the variation in consumption pattern in relation to the size of the family the households were divided into two broad categories namely those having upto 4 members in the household and those having 5 and above

^{*} Marginal Farmer, Small Farmer, Progressive Farmer and "Others"

(Table 4). In this case, consumption of food items per day per head has been worked out with a view to adopting another method of analysis.

Table 4

Distribution of sample households
by family size

Size of house- hold	Upto 4 members	More than 4 members	Total
No. of families	6	24	30
Total members	17	163	180
Average number per house- hold	2.83	6.79	6

2.4.10 Although every attempt has been made to make the sample as representative of the population as possible, the smallness of the sample size for obvious reasons places severe restrictions on its representative character. During the course of interviews it was noticed that the interviewees were often unable to give an accurate assessment of the quantities of various food items consumed during a month. In respect of some of the items like spices, condiments, fruits, etc. no quantitative assessment was given at all.

In respect of vegetables most of the villagers interviewed only indicated that whatever little green vegetable was grown in their fields was consumed and they were able to give only very rough quantitative or expenditure estimates.

2.4.11 The possibility of over-estimation and exaggeration of consumption and expenditure in some cases and under-assessment in others due to psychological reasons is another aspect which has to be kept in view.

Part III

ANALYSIS OF DATA AND CONCLUSIONS

3.1 Consumption Pattern of Food Items

3.1.1 The main crop of the area being maize or makki, the same constitutes the bulk of the cereal consumption of the households in the two villages. The other cereal used is wheat. Generally, about 8 months in a year, makki is consumed while in the four winter months most of the villagers eat wheat. Very little of rice is consumed and that too mainly on festive and ceremonial occasions.

3.1.2 Generally, people of the villages take two meals a day. However, there were a few households included in the sample which reported taking meals three times daily. While the vast majority of the households specially in the agricultural class possess milch cattle most of them have acquired the urban habit of taking tea atleast two or three times in a day.

3.1.3 A normal meal consists of 'Makki Ki Roti' or 'Wheat Ki Roti', dal or chatni or gur (jaggery) or vegetable and a concoction of curd boiled with maize known as 'rabadi'. All the 30 households included in the sample reported that they were vegetarians. However, discrete inquiries from the Sarpanch and others in the villages revealed that some of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and Rajputs do

occasionally take non-vegetarian dishes which may include meat, fish or eggs. Most of the villagers consume jaggery and very little of sugar. Sweets are generally prepared on festive occasions. Some other special dishes like Halwa, puri, kachauri, pulao and a variety of sweets are also prepared on such occasions.

3.2 Analysis with reference to Occupational Status

3.2.1. Table 5 gives the consumption figures of principal food items per family per month and per consumption unit per day by occupational status.

3.2.2. A perusal of the Table 5 shows that out of the first three categories, consumption of cereals and products per consumption unit per day is maximum (474 gms) in the case of marginal farmers and is least (364 gms) in respect of progressive farmers. This appears to be quite logical when viewed in the light of the fact that the members of these groups relying mainly on manual labour will naturally need more calories and therefore consume more of cereals.

Again, the first three groups* taken together on average

* The term 'first group' ^{category} used in the report refers to marginal farmers, the term 'second group' refers to small farmers, the term 'third group' refers to progressive farmers. The terms "fourth group" "Others" refer to the group comprising service class/traders etc. and the mixed occupational households.



A woman grinding Maize at home
(Kaledwas village)



A woman and child eating a
typical meal

Table 5

Average consumption of principal food items (in kgs.) per month and per consumption unit (in gms.) per day by occupational status

	Occupational status	Marginal farmer per household per month (kgs.)	Small farmer per consumption per month (kgs.)	Progressive farmer	Average per unit per day for the 1st 3 groups	Others	Average consumption per unit per day for the sample (kgs)			
Cereals and products	69.5	474	50	444	64.4	364	432	54.70	433	432.8
Pulses and products	3.64	24.8	4.25	38	2.8	16	24.1	2.55	20.5	22.8
Oils and fats	3.38	23	2.38	21	2	11	18.7	2.65	21	19.5
Milk and products	24.93	170	19.69	175	24.20	137	160	21.60	171	164
Jaggery and sugar	9.24	63	7	62	11.8	67	64.2	7.51	59.5	62.3

consume more of pulses and products (24 gms per unit per day) as compared to "Others" (20.5 gms) on account of identical reasons. Further, as expected, the first three categories (marginal farmers, small farmers and progressive farmers) on an average consume per unit less of oils and fats and milk products as compared to the households included in the category "Others" which includes households of service, trading class and mixed occupational groups. In regard to sugar and jaggery it is noticed that the first three categories taken together on an average consume more of sugar and jaggery per unit as compared to "Others" who are not given to the same amount of manual or physical labour.

3.2.3 The consumption level of the sample as a whole when compared with the balanced diet (Table 6) prescribed for a moderately worked adult male and female reveals the following features:

The consumption level of cereals compares quite favourably with that prescribed in the balanced diet (Table 6) while the consumption of pulses, milk oils and fat is on the low side. However, the consumption of sugar and jaggery per consumption unit is high as compared to that indicated in the balanced diet.

3.3 Consumption pattern in respect of remaining food items

3.3.1. Majority of the households owning land grow a

Table 6

Balanced Diets for Adult Man/Woman/with moderate and heavy work) (for Vegetarians)

(Source : Nutritive Value of Indian foods by National Institute of Nutrition, Hyderabad

Food Item	Moderate Work		Heavy Work	
	Man gms.	Woman gms.	Man	Woman
Cereals	475	350	650	475
Pulses	80	70	80	55
Green leafy vegetables	125	125	125	125
Other Vegetables	75	75	100	100
Roots and Tubers	100	75	100	100
Fruits	30	30	30	30
Milk	200	200	200	200
Fats and Oils	40	35	50	45
Sugar and jaggery	40	30	55	40
Groundnuts	-	-	50	40

Table 7

Expenditure (in Rs.) per month per family
on food items by occupational
status

Food Item	Rate in Rs. per kg.	Margi- nal farmer	Small Far- mer	Progres- sive farmers	Others	Average for sample
Cereals and products	1.40	97.30	70.00	90.16	76.57	84.20
Pulses and Products	4.75	17.29	20.19	13.30	12.30	15.11
Oils and Fats	15	50.70	35.70	30.00	39.75	40.63
Milk and Products	2	49.86	39.38	48.40	43.20	45.56
Sugar and Jaggery	4	36.96	28.00	47.20	30.04	34.45
Others		18.57	19.89	12.90	20.19	18.45
		270.68	213.16	241.96	222.05	238.40

little bit of green vegetable, tomato and chillies. The vegetable consumption of the households included in the sample was largely restricted to the home grown vegetables. In some cases, purchase of potato and onion from the market was also reported during the course of interviews. The vegetable consumption per day per family, by and large, was reported to be well below half a kg. The households included in category "Others" were found to be somewhat better off in this respect and the monthly expenditure on vegetables in the vast majority of households in this category ranged between Rs.15/= and Rs. 25/= per month.

3.3.2 A comparison with the balanced diet reveals that the diet taken by the households included in the sample, by and large, is deficient in respect of vegetables, roots and tubers except in the case of group "Others" comprising the service class, the traders etc. The consumption of fruits was found to be somewhat rare in the case of the households included in the sample. A few of the households however did report taking banana, apple, the chiku, guava once in a blue moon. Here again, however, the households included in Group 4 "Others" were found to be better off.

3.3.3 The monthly expenditure on food items per family for various occupational groups is indicated in Table 7. The high food bill of the marginal farmer is attributable to the

larger number of consumption units per household and his additional calorie requirements on account of the characteristics of his occupation.

3.4 Consumption of food items in relation to family size

A perusal of Table 8 clearly indicates that an increase in the size of family has a marked impact on the consumption level of cereals, pulses, oils and fats and milk and products as expected. Only marginal variation has, however, been noticed in the case of consumption of sugar and jaggery.

Table 8

Consumption of food items per member per day (gms) by the size of household

Item of food	Size of household.	Upto 4 members		More than 4 members	
Cereals and products		405		326.8	
Pulses and products		21		17.3	
Oils and fats		19		14.7	
Milk and products		160		123.2	
Sugar and jaggery		49.2		48	

3.5 Consumption Pattern of Non-food Items

3.5.1 Before analysing the consumption pattern in respect of the non-food items it may be worthwhile to have an idea of the assets owned by the households included

in the two villages in general and those included in the sample under study in particular. Inquiries reveals that roughly 10 per cent of the households of the area possess either a radio set or a transistor. About 5 or 6 owned a table fan or a ceiling fan. Nearly 70 houses out of a total of 504 had electric connection. Within the sample of 30, 5 households reported owning a table or chair or both; one possessed even a camera. 15 owned pucca or part-pucca houses (Table 9) All the households included in Groups 1-3

Table 9

Distribution of pucca/part-pucca houses

H.F.	S.F.	O.F.	Others	Total
3/9	3/7 2/4	2/2 2/5	7/12	15/30

(occupational status criterion) possessed a pair of bullocks and ploughs. It was only the landless included in Group 4 "Others" who quite naturally did not own either the bullocks or the ploughs. Again, all the households covered by the first three groups possessed one or more milch cattle and only one out of 8 landless included in Group/(Others') owned milch cattle.

3.5.2 In respect of consumer durables the vast majority of households included in all the four Groups possessed one or more bicycles. However, owning a radio set, almirah, fan

and watches or time-piece was rare in the first three Groups. The households included in the Fourth Group were again considerably better off in this regard and 6 out of 12 owned a radio set or transistor and wrist watches. There were two households owning fans, 2 with sewing machines and one even owning a motor bike.

3.5.3 One of the most important items in this category is that of clothing and footwear. The Dangis who are predominantly agricultural class wear Angarkha, Angocha and Dhoti. As far as the head gear is concerned they normally wear a turban or Sefa costing Rs. 60 per piece. The price of an Angarkha ranges between Rs. 40 and 50 and may occasionally go upto Rs. 80 in the case of a terricot one while the cost of a dhoti is around Rs.30/=. The other communities generally wear Kurta, Dhoti and Sefa or Pugri. The price of a safa or pugree ranges from Rs.30 to Rs.50.

3.5.4 The Rajasthani women wear colourful dresses comprising, in the case of Dangis, a ghagra, Kanchali (decorated blouse) odni or poncha (generally printed red). Women of other communities wear lehnga, saree and polka. The price of a ghagra (18 kali) worn by Dangi women is between Rs.70 and 80 a piece. The Odni costs between Rs.40 and 60. The apparel of other communities is generally cheaper.

3.5.5 Shoes and chappals are worn by both men and women but women remove these and carry them in hand as a sign of respect when they come across an elder or even as a regular measure at the chowraha of the village, where some meeting is almost always going on and elderly and respected men of the villages are usually present.

3.5.6 A perusal of Table 10 which indicates the monthly expenditure per family of non-food items according to occupational status reveals that the expenditure on clothing and footwear is around Rs.25/- in the case of marginal farmers and around Rs.54 in the case of households owning more than 5 acres while the same is around Rs. 50/- per month in the case of households of Group 4 "Others". The average for the entire sample works out to around Rs.42 per month per family. The pattern of expenditure on clothing and footwear is clearly on expected lines and rises with higher economic status as denoted by the size of the land holdings or with additional sources of income.

3.6 Other Items

3.6.1 None of the sample reported spending any money on pan and superi. However, 50 per cent of the households i.e. 15 out of 30 reported spending money on consumption of tobacco and smoking. Here, maximum incidence of tobacco smoking (6 out of 9) was found in the case of Group 1, in

Table 10

Expenditure per month per family on non-food items (Rs.)

Occupational status	Marginal farmer	Small farmer	Progressive farmers	Others	Average for sample
thing, ding and twear	25.50	38.00	54.40	50.27	41.89
acco	13.35	2.50	8.80	10.10	9.84
ocation	13.85	17.25	26.00	14.50	16.59
hers	25.22	32.50	42.50	23.00	28.18
	77.92	90.25	131.70	97.87	96.50



A group of villagers
smoking 'bidi'

marginal farmers which again can be attributed to the higher level of physical labour undertaken by the members of this group.

3.6.2 In regard to consumption of alcoholic drinks none in the sample replied in the affirmative. However, discrete inquiries revealed that the incidence of alcohol consumption is present practically in all communities, the maximum being in the case of Rajputs scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes.

3.6.3 An analysis of expenditure on education, though it did not reveal any definite trend in quantitative terms nevertheless indicated some basic characteristics and patterns. It was noticed that more attention was being paid to the education of children by the households included in Groups 3 and 4 as compared to the first two groups. Further out of a total of 24 households with children of schooling age in the sample 18 were actually using the schooling facilities available in the villages. A significant aspect of the study was that the education of girls was not given due importance and in the first three groups out of the 11 families with daughters and other females of schooling age, only one family was sending the daughter to the school. The position in respect of Group 4 comprising the service and business/trading class was, however, better and three out of 7 families with daughters of schooling age were educating them. As revealed by the Table (Table 10) the average monthly expenditure per

household for the sample worked out to around Rs.16.60 per month on education.

3.6.4 The expenditure on fuel and light was found to be insignificant and as far as the fuel is concerned almost in all the cases it was reported that the households were using fire wood obtained free from a nearby jungle. The consumption on kerosene used for lighting purposes ranged from 1 to 3 litres in a month. ^{9 households had electricity} Expenditure on this item as also other miscellaneous items such as personal care, transport and communication, festivals, religious ceremonies etc. has been lumped together under the last item 'others' of table 10 and is of the order of Rs.28 per month for the sample as a whole.

3.7 Analysis with reference to size of households

3.7.1 Here again, as expected, it has been noticed from "Table 11" that the expenditure per head is inversely related

Table 11
Expenditure per member ^{per month in Rs.} on non-food items
by size of household

Items	Size of Households	Upto 4 members	More than 4 members
Clothing & footwear		9.10	6.76
Tobacco		2.03	1.60
Education		2.20	2.82
Others		9.30	4.22

to the size of the family except in the case of expenditure on education which is directly related and can be explained by the larger number of school-going children in the case of larger families.

3.8 CONCLUSIONS

3.8.1. Food Items

1. The study made with reference to occupational status criterion revealed that the consumption of cereals is highest in the case of marginal farmers and lowest in the case of progressive farmers, while in the case of 'others' the consumption ranges between the consumption levels of second and the third group. The high cereal consumption level of the * MF is due to his higher calorie requirement on account of the higher physical labour required of him. The average consumption for the sample as a whole is of the order of 433 gms. per day per consumption unit and compares favourably with the consumption level prescribed as per balanced diet table specially when it is noted that the average has been arrived at without making a distinction between the consumption levels of males and females.

2. The consumption level of pulses, oils, fats and vegetables is on the lower side as compared to the balanced diet. The first three groups together consume on average per day a

* Marginal Farmer

higher quantity of pulses as compared to the Fourth Group "Others" but a lower quantity of oils and fats, milk products and vegetables as compared to the Fourth Group. This qualitative improvement on the diet can obviously be attributed to the higher economic status of the latter.

3. The consumption level of sugar and jaggery is quite high and even higher than that suggested in the Table of Balanced Diet, mainly on account of the production of sugarcane in the area, 'gur' (jaggery) being a part of the meals and the Rajasthani predilection for sweet.

4. Analysis with reference to family size reveals that the per head consumption of cereals, pulses, oils and fats is lower for larger families as expected while the consumption of sugar and jaggery is ^{almost} the same both in the case of large and small households.

5. The average monthly expenditure per family for the sample is of the order of Rs.238 for foodstuffs.

3.8.2. Non-food Items: In the case of non-food items the findings are as below:

1. The expenditure on clothing and footwear per family is maximum in the case of Groups 3 and 4: (Occupational Status Criterion) and for the sample as a whole it is around Rs.42 per month per family.

2. The average expenditure for all the non-food items taken together per family per month is around Rs. 96/=.

3. An analysis by the family size criterion reveals that the expenditure per capita (per head) for larger families as expected is lower than for smaller families in the case of all items except education.

3.8 General

1. The overall monthly expenditure of a recurring nature per household for the sample as a whole works out to Rs.335 per month, out of which about Rs. 238 pertains to the food items and rest for non-food items.

2. The proportion of expenditure on food items is 77.6 per cent for marginal farmers and around 70 per cent for small farmers and around 65 for progressive farmers which reveals that economically better groups spend more money on non-food items (Table 12). For Group 4 'Others' the average

Table 12

Expenditure per month per family (Rs.)

	M.F.	S.F.	P.F.	OTHERS	FOR SAMPLE
FOOD	276.68	213.10	241.96	222.05	238.40
NON-FOOD	7.92	90.25	131.70	97.87	96.50
TOTAL	348.60	303.35	373.66	319.92	334.90
Food as % of total	77.64	70.25	64.75	69.40	71.19

M.F. = Marginal Farmer S.F. = Small Farmer
P.F. = Progressive Farmer

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is around 69 per cent which again is on expected lines as this group includes not only the service class and traders, but also households owning land in addition.

Part IV

Annexure

QUESTIONNAIRE

(A) General Information

(1) Name of the Head of Family

(2) Family Composition

Name of Members	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Income
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(3) Land and Animal Assets

- (a) Agricultural Land
- (b) House
- (c) Milch Cattle
- (d) Other Cattle

(4) Durable Consumer Goods

- (a) Existing numbers
- (b) Additions during the previous year

(5) Loans and repaid during the previous year, if any

(6) Religion

(7) Whether belonging to scheduled caste/tribe

(B) Consumption Expenditure

(1) <u>Food</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Value</u>
-----------------	-----------------	--------------

- i. Cereals and products
- ii. Pulses and products
- iii. Oilseeds, oils and fats
- iv. Meat, fish and eggs
- v. Milk and products
- vi. Vegetable and products
- vii. Fruits and products
- viii. Condiments, spices, sugar etc.

TOTAL

(2) Non-food

- i. Pan, Supari etc.
- ii. Tobacco and Products
- iii. Alcoholic beverages etc.
- iv. Fuel and light
- v. House rent, repairs, water charges etc.
- vi. Furniture and furnishings
- vii. House-hold appliances etc.
- viii. Household services
- ix. Clothing, bedding etc.
- x. Footwear
- xi. Medical care
- xii. Personal Care
- xiii. Education

- (a) Male
- (b) Female

- xiv. Recreation and Amusement
- xv. Transport and communication
- xvi. Marriages, funerals, etc.
- xvii. Festivals etc.
- xviii. Miscellaneous

(3) Litigation

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
(1980-81)

VILLAGE STUDY

"STUDY OF CONSUMPTION PATTERN OF KARUMOM
WARD OF NEMOM VILLAGE (DISTRICT TRIVANDRUM)"

Roll No. 613

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI.

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
(1980-81)

Study of Consumption Pattern of Karumom
Ward of Nemom Village (District Trivandrum)

Introduction & Methodology

1. The consumption pattern is of vital interest to economists and planners. As it brings out the standard of living of the people and their food habits in the different occupational and income groups, a study of the pattern of consumption among the residents of a particular area is an essential part in any survey conducted to assess their socio-economic conditions.

2. The present study is concerned with Karumom ward of Nemom village. Nemom is situated on the Trivandrum - Kanya-Kumari national highway and is about 8 kilometers from Trivandrum which is the capital of Kerala State. As is usual in Kerala, Nemom is also a very big village with an estimated present population of 57000. Unlike the villages in the northern states of the country, the population settlement is scattered over a large area. The revenue village Nemom consists of two panchayats viz. Nemom and Kalliyoor. Each of these panchayats is divided into a number of wards.

In fact, a ward of this big village is akin to an average village in northern states. In view of paucity of time and resources, the present study was confined to Karumom ward of Nemom panchayat. A map showing the location of Karumom ward is annexed to this study.

3. The objective of the study was to ascertain the pattern of consumption expenditure in different occupational groups of Karumom ward and to compare the position of these groups with one another. There are 460 households in Karumom ward. As it was not possible to conduct a survey of all the families due to paucity of time, a sample of population was drawn in order to obtain information about the pattern of consumption. For the purpose of sampling, a list of all the households was prepared with the assistance of village officials and panchayat records. After ascertaining their occupations, they were classified into different groups and a sample of 6.5 per cent of the families in each occupation was selected for study. The occupational groups in Karumom ward were as follows:-

- (i) Farmers owning more than 2.5 acres of land;
- (ii) Marginal farmers (i.e. with agricultural land up to 2.5 acres);
- (iii) Agricultural labourers;
- (iv) Small brick-kiln owners;
- (v) brick-kiln labourers

(vi) Trade; and

(vii) Service.

Thus, the study covers 30 families belonging to different occupations. The data was collected through interviews in the first week of December, 1980. The reference period for food items and most of the non-food items was the month preceding the study. In case of non-food items such as clothing and footwear, house repairs, medicines, festivals and litigation, the reference period was the period of 12 months preceding the study. The data has been analysed in Tables 1-4.

Food Articles

4. Table 1 shows the pattern of consumption of food articles among the various occupational groups in Karunom ward. The maximum average monthly family expenditure is in the case of 'farmers owning more than 2.5 acres of land' group followed by 'trade', 'brick manufacturers', 'service', 'marginal farmers'; 'agricultural labourers' and 'brick-kiln labourers' groups. Rice forms the only staple food in all the occupational groups. The agricultural labourers and brick-kiln labourers, however, supplement their diet with tapioca which is much cheaper as compared to rice. As regards the consumption of other food articles, it is found that they are consumed in ^{very} small quantities by marginal

TABLE-1
Average monthly family expenditure on Food articles

(in Rs.)

Items	OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS							
	Farmers owning more than 2.5 acres of land	Marginal Farmers	Agricultural Labourers	Small Brick Manufacturers	Brick-kiln Labourers	Trade	Service	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
<u>Cereals</u>								
Rice	132.50	155.00	127.92*	181.25	115.42*	193.75	192.8	
<u>Non-Cereals</u>								
Pulses	17.50	9.00	4.58	30.00	2.50	17.50	10.0	
Oilseed, oils & fats	50.00	27.00	15.00	75.00	17.50	52.50	25.7	
Meat, fish and eggs	60.00	26.00	33.33	45.00	31.67	72.50	48.5	
Milk & products	80.00	30.00	11.67	30.00	5.83	49.50	42.8	
Vegetables	42.00	11.00	6.67	12.50	3.33	21.25	20.7	
Fruits	25.00	-	-	5.00	-	15.00	4.2	
Salt, Spices, Sugar etc.	40.00	20.00	20.83	22.50	11.75	31.50	33.8	
TOTAL	447.00	278.00	220.00	401.25	188.00	453.50	378.8	

* Includes expenditure incurred on the consumption of tapioca also.

farmers, agricultural labourers and brick-kiln labourers. This explains the low level of nutrition which affects their health. Table 1 also shows that the proportion of expenditure on the consumption of cereals is much more than other individual food items in all the occupational groups.

5. Table 2 shows that food represents the largest single item of expenditure in the family budget. Further, this table also reveals that the average monthly family expenditure is highest in the case of farmers owning more than 2.5 acres of land followed by traders, brick manufacturers, services, marginal farmers, agricultural labourers and brick-kiln labourers. But as a percentage of total expenditure, the lowest expenditure on food items is in the case of farmers owning more than 2.5 acres (61.95%) while in the case of marginal farmers, agricultural labourers and brick-kiln labourers it is 73.43%, 75.88% and 78.68% respectively. This shows that higher-income groups spend comparatively less on food articles and more on non-food items as compared to lower-income groups. In other words, the proportion of expenditure devoted to food decreases as the level of living of the family increases.

Non-food Articles

6. As regards non-food articles, it is clear from the information contained in Table 2 that the average monthly

TABLE-2
Percentage of average monthly family expenditure under different heads (in Rs.)

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS							
Items	Farmers owning more than 2.5 acres of land	Marginal Farmers	Agricultural Labourers	Small brick Manufacturers	Brick-kiln Labourers	Trade	Service
	Amount (%) (2)	Amount (%) (3)	Amount (%) (4)	Amount (%) (5)	Amount (%) (6)	Amount (%) (7)	Amount (%) (8)
(1)							
Food	447.00 (61.95)	278.00 (73.43)	220.00 (75.88)	401.25 (65.80)	188.00 (78.68)	453.50 (64.46)	378.86 (66.89)
Tobacco and Intoxicants	18.00 (2.49)	10.00 (2.65)	24.17 (8.35)	18.25 (3.00)	24.67 (10.32)	30.00 (4.25)	12.86 (2.28)
Clothing and Footwear	51.00 (7.06)	21.47 (5.68)	9.58 (4.31)	40.74 (6.68)	8.94 (3.74)	48.90 (6.95)	41.25 (7.29)
House rent, repairs etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.00 (.89)
Fuel & light	36.65 (5.08)	15.40 (4.09)	15.00 (4.12)	34.50 (5.66)	8.10 (3.39)	42.00 (6.00)	22.57 (3.98)
Medicines	21.65 (3.00)	8.00 (2.11)	4.99 (1.73)	17.50 (2.87)	2.40 (1.00)	19.00 (2.78)	11.43 (2.02)
Personal care (toilet articles etc.)	25.00 (3.46)	7.40 (1.97)	2.67 (.93)	16.25 (2.66)	1.17 (.49)	16.15 (2.28)	13.93 (2.46)
Education	47.75 (6.62)	15.20 (4.05)	3.66 (1.28)	37.80 (6.20)	0.66 (.28)	42.07 (5.91)	30.32 (5.35)
Recreation, festivals etc.	31.60 (4.39)	7.60 (2.02)	4.01 (1.38)	13.50 (2.21)	2.50 (1.05)	15.55 (2.22)	15.01 (2.65)
Travelling	42.93 (5.95)	15.00 (4.00)	5.83 (2.02)	30.00 (4.92)	2.50 (1.05)	36.20 (5.15)	35.11 (6.19)
Litigation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL:	721.58 (100.00)	378.07 (100.00)	289.91 (100.00)	609.79 (100.00)	238.94 (100.00)	703.37 (100.00)	566.34 (100.00)

family expenditure as a whole is highest in the case of farmers owning more than 2.5 acres of land followed by traders, brick manufacturers, services, marginal farmers agricultural labourers and brick kiln labourers. As a percentage of total expenditure on non-food items, the highest expenditure is on clothing (including footwear) in all the occupational groups. The expenditure on housing is shown as nil in the case of all occupational groups except the 'services' group as the families interviewed in these groups either owned houses or were provided one by the Government (in the case of scheduled caste agricultural and brick-kiln labourers) and they indicated that no expenditure by way of repairs and house rent was incurred by them during the past one year. Another feature of the distribution of expenditure as revealed in Table 2 is that as regards consumption of tobacco and intoxicants, the highest percentages of expenditure are in the case of brick-kiln labourers (10.32%) and agricultural labourers (8.35%) respectively. This shows that these habits are more prevalent in these two groups. As regards medicines, personal care (toilet articles etc.) and recreation, it is observed that the higher-income groups spend more as compared to lower income groups. In other words, the proportion of expenditure on these items increases with a rise in the level of living. It is also found that the percentage

expenditure on education forms an important part of the total expenditure in the case of all occupational groups except agricultural and brick-kiln labourers. This shows the importance accorded to the need for education of children by the residents of the ward. The residents informed that no fee is charged upto high school and primary education is compulsory. As regards travelling expenses, the highest percentage of expenditure is in the case of 'services' group followed by farmers owning more than 2.5 acres of land, traders and brick manufacturers. It is interesting to note that the expenditure on litigation was reported to be nil by all the sample families in different occupational groups. This shows that there is practically no litigation regarding agricultural land and other matters in this ward.

Per Capita Expenditure

7. Table 3 gives the per capita monthly expenditure on food and non-food articles in various occupational groups. The per capita expenditure has been calculated by taking each child as equivalent to 0.8 adult units.¹

1. John P.V. and L.C. Gupta: 'A Comparative Study of Some Aspects of the levels of Living in Two Villages' in Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Jan.-Mar. 1963, p.325. As stated therein there appears to be no common agreement with regard to the conversion factor for consumption unit. The consensus of

TABLE-3
Monthly Per Capita Expenditure Under Food and Non-Food Items (in P

Items	OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS					
	Farmers owning more than 2.5 acres of land	Marginal Farmers	Agricultural Labourers	Small Brick Manufacturers	Brick-kiln Labourers	Trade Service
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7) (8)
Food (i.e. comprising food items of Table 1)	81.27	53.88	40.74	61.73	51.64	64.79 71.
Non-food (i.e. comprising non-food items of Table 2)	49.93	19.39	12.95	32.08	14.00	35.69 35.
TOTAL	131.20	73.27	53.69	93.81	65.64	100.48 106.

As shown in Table 3, the highest per capita total expenditure is in the case of farmers owning more than 2.5 acres of land followed by services, traders, bricks manufacturers, marginal farmers, brick-kiln labourers and agricultural labourers. As compared to Table 2 the 'services' group and 'brick-kiln labourers' group have improved their position in Table 3. This is due to the comparatively smaller size of the average family in these two groups. As regards food articles, the monthly per capita expenditure is highest in case of farmers owning more than 2.5 acres of land followed by services, traders, brick manufacturers, marginal farmers, brick-kiln labourers and agricultural labourers. So far as the position of the monthly per capita expenditure on non-food articles is concerned, 'farmers owning more than 2.5 acres of land' group has the maximum expenditure followed by traders, services, brick manufacturers, marginal farmers, brick-kiln labourers and agricultural labourers.

opinion seems to be to treat 100 members of all age-groups as equivalent to 75 or 80 adult units (see N.S.S. Report, No.1, p.631). But since our sample was small and a uniform application of such a deflating factor would have brought about some wrong results between the groups, we have deflated the number of children with the conversion factor of 0.80 in arriving at the equivalent adult units.

Durable Consumer Goods

8. One of the important changes taking place in the pattern of consumption expenditure in rural areas is the increase in the use of durable consumer goods like chairs, tables, bicycles, torch-lights, radio, watches, fountain-pens etc. Some of the articles like bicycles cannot be entirely termed consumer goods, as these are used for productive purposes also. But the predominant preference is in the direction of consumption. The data collected in the present study related to the ownership and number of durable consumer goods in regular use in the sample families of the Karumam ward. Table 4 indicates the average number of durable consumer goods per family in the different occupational groups.² It is observed that the higher-income groups use more of these goods than those belonging to lower-income groups. Table 4 also shows that most of the durable consumer goods are owned by 'farmers owning more than 2.5 acres of land', 'services', 'brick-manufacturers' and 'trade' groups. The articles most commonly used are utensils, furniture, bicycles, watches and fountain pens.

2. While calculating the averages, fraction upto .5 has been ignored and fraction more than .5 has been taken as 1.

TABLE-4

Durable Consumer Goods and their Average Number in Use by Families in Different Occupational Groups

Articles	OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS							
	Farmers owning more than 2.5 acres of land	Marginal Farmers	Agricultural Labourers	Small brick manufacturers	Brick-kiln labourers	Trade Service		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
Furniture	6	3	-	6	-	5	6	
Steel & Aluminium utensils	19	6	3	15	2	11	12	
Bicycles	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	
Fullcock Cart	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Petromax	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Lantern	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	
Torch	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Radio/Transistor	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	
Clock	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Watch	2	1	-	1	-	1	2	
Fountain pen	5	2	-	5	-	4	7	

Indian Institute of Public Administration
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Sixth Advanced Professional Programme in
Public Administration (July, 1980 - March, 1981)

VILLAGE STUDY REPORT

A FRINGE VILLAGE IN HARYANA
(A micro-study of 'Jhanjhari'
in Karnal district).

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CONSUMPTION PATTERN)

— P.K. BRAHMA

"Nobody in the world will ever
understand the problems and
difficulties of villagers"

Heard in Jhanjhari

A FRINGE VILLAGE IN HARYANA

— P.K. BRAHMA.

Introduction:

1.1 There are about 560 thousand villages in India and the bulk of the population of 667 millions live in the villages where traditional mode of life still persists. There are villages which are easily accessible, there are inaccessible villages where it takes days to reach, there are remote villages at the foot-hills of snow-capped mountains, there are arid villages surrounded by desert and sanddunes, there are soggy villages where reptiles rule, there are enchanting villages washed by rivers and springs, there are dusty villages full of dirt and squalor, there are primitive villages where modern civilisation has not entered, there are backward villages which are haunted by stark poverty, disease and death, and there are villages shining in prosperity. In other words, villages in all their bewildering varieties can be seen in India. But not many of these "little republics"² have been studied in all their Socio-economic aspects.

1.2 Micro-study of Indian villages, in its present form, is a post-second World-War phenomenon when Indian Social Anthropologists trained abroad and their foreign counterparts began systematic studies of villages in various parts of the country. This is not to discount the contributions made by Indian Scholars like D.R. Gadgil, R.K. Mukherjee, C.N. Vakil and G.S. Ghurey who encouraged their students to carry out field studies of villages. But with the possible exception of wisers' classic work "Behind Mud Walls" (1930), the earlier works did not follow the modern research methodology while the post-war social anthropologists relied almost exclusively on the method of

1. M.N. Srinivas, Social Structure of Mysore Village
(India's villages (ed) 1955)

2. Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote in 1832 "The Village
Communities are little republics..."

participant-observation. Material, as Bronislaw Malinowski advised, should not merely be recorded by the ethnographer with "Camera, note book and pencil but more fruitfully observed by joining in himself in what is going on."³ This is the technique which has come to be known as "Participant-observation."⁴ There is little that has been added to the principles of field work given by Malinowski half a century ago.

1.3 After an early lead by two eminent Scholars D.N. Majumdar (1903-60) and I.C. Das (1897-1964), Social anthropologists have made rich contributions in the field of village studies. M.N. Srinivas (India's villages 1955, Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India 1952) McKim Marriott (Village India, ed 1955), E.R. Leach (Aspects of Caste in India, Ceylon and North West Pakistan ed 1960), Adrian Mayer (Caste and Kinship in Central India, 1960), F.G. Bailey (Caste and the Economic Frontier 1957), Scarlett Epstein (Economic Development and Social change in South India 1962; South India, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, 1973), B.D. Miller (From Hierarchy to Stratification 1975), Andre Beteille (Caste, Class and Power, 1965, Inequality and Social change, studies in Agrarian Social Structure), to mention a few, have made significant contributions to micro-study of villages.

1.4 The recent works of social anthropologists, some of whom have been mentioned above have created a great deal of interest in village study in recent years. In fact, it is becoming more and more a challenging and thrilling experience although intellectuals are still generally allergic to dirt and dust of villages. I originally come from a small

3. Andre Beteille and Madan (eds), Encounter and Experience, Vikas, 1975 P.5

4. Ibid.

riverine village in East Bengal (now Bangladesh) and having fond nostalgic memories of my childhood in the village, I was immediately thrilled with prospect of a village study under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi. The participants of the Sixth Professional Programme in Public Administration of which I was one, were divided into four groups and were sent to four different villages in various parts of the country for studying a village for a period of 10 days. I was sent in a group of 8 participants to Karnal District to study a village in Haryana. We arrived at Karnal on December 1, 1980 and immediately came to know that Deputy Commissioner of Karnal had already selected two villages for our study. Since we had only 10 days' time with us, we selected the smallest and nearest of the two i.e. village 'Jhanjhari.'

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 According to Micheal Lipton, there are four aims of research: to discover facts to generate hypotheses, to test hypotheses, and to indicate the likely results of a policy. Research can be pursued along three approaches: (i) the logical analysis of the consequences of assumption (pure theory) (ii) the investigation of field situations (Primary-empirical work) and (iii) the study of facts or data resulting from earlier field investigations (secondary-empirical work). Village studies have so far been entirely primary - empirical and largely fact finding and hypothesis-generating.⁴

2.2 In a recent international conference⁵ (Delhi 1974) on Village Studies in the Third World, the 'Village and village studies have been defined as follows.⁵

(i) Village: "Small rural communities that have most of

4. Michael Lipton: Village studies and Alternative methods of Rural Research. Biplab Dasgupta (ed) Village Studies in the Third World P.15.

5. Ibid P.210

their political, sociological and economic links with each other." This definition was not water-tight but it does allow for the possibility of nucleated, clustered or dispersed settlement patterns.

(ii) Village study

A village study has four characteristics:

- (a) a prolonged period of stay in one village by either the research worker himself or an enumerator (cut-off point of two months was suggested to differentiate the short and prolonged period. However, it was emphasised that this would be greatly influenced by the objectives of the study and therefore the data required, size of village etc.);
- (b) involves the collection of socio-economic data;
- (c) provides an understanding in depth;
- (d) investigates 'linkages' and relationships within the village.

2.3 Since the time available with us was only about ten days, it was not possible to follow the accepted methodology of village research. We had to adopt an easier course of action which included the following:-

(i) The study was divided into the various major components and distinct areas of investigation e.g. cropping pattern, consumption pattern, caste pattern, rural indebtedness and bondage etc, were indicated by the Institute and each member of the group was expected to cover one area of investigation.

(ii) This was followed by discussions (the participants were sent to four different villages in four groups) on individual subjects with the concerned faculty member. As a result of the discussions a detailed questionnaire was prepared and fifty copies of the questionnaire on each subject were given to the participants.

(iii) Each member was expected to interview a minimum of 30 households and fill in the proforma.

(iv) Maximum information was to be collected from the records and documents available at the district headquarters and with the village officials.

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(v) The group planned to Camp at Karnal and conduct the interview by making daily visits to the village at fixed hours.

(vi) It was decided to interview a selected number of people belonging to the various caste-groups and the economic groups.

2.4 Therefore, the Group adopted a technique which can be called limited "participant - observation" technique. As far as I was concerned, I was expected to cover the area of consumption pattern of the Villagers.

3. HYPOTHESIS - GENERATING OR HYPOTHESIS - TESTING ?

3.1 As soon as we arrived at the village, the inadequacy of the method proposed to be followed by us was felt.

A detailed questionnaire (a copy attached) which was prepared on my subject i.e. consumption pattern appeared to be irrelevant in the village context. I was immediately reminded of what Andre' Beteille said in his essay, "Tribulations of Field work", which is quoted below:-

"There are obvious difficulties in evolving clear procedures for conducting intensive field work. This kind of investigation relies heavily on participant-observation, and indeed the two are viewed by many as being almost synonymous. Here the investigator seeks not so much to test the ideas that he brings with him from outside as to explore the categories, orientations and values of the people with whom he lives. In such circumstances it is only natural that the investigation should frequently flow into unsuspected channels. A rigid plan of investigation takes away much that is of interest in a study of this kind and a good investigator is the person who is able to use to advantage all that is fresh novel and unforeseen in the situations."⁶

3.2 To my great surprise, I found that most of the villagers did not know their exact income and expenditure. None of them had kept detailed accounts of income and expenditure and

6. Andre' Beteille: (ed) Encounter and Experience, 1978

P.100.

contd..6/...

most of them were only aware of the broad gross income and gross expenditure. None of the villagers could give a fairly faithful break-up of their expenditure or consumption into various items like cereals, milk or even between food and non-food items. In this situation, the only alternative left to me was to test certain hypotheses and ideas which I have brought from outside and explore them on the basis of the limited participant - observation method. The hypotheses and ideas which I tried to test concerned the following:

1. Whether the National Consumption pattern arrived at by the National Sample Survey (19th and 28th rounds) for the rural areas and for Haryana apply to this Village and how the consumption pattern of this village fit into the National Consumption pattern.
2. Whether the majority of the villages are able to afford the nutritionally minimum diet accepted as basic minimum by many economists and Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research.
3. Since consumption is a function of income, how many people are living below the 'poverty line.'
4. Whether inequality in income and consumption has increased or decreased over the years following the 'Green Revolution.'

4. PROFILE OF THE VILLAGE

4.1 Location and area: As one drives through the rows of Eucalyptus trees from Karnal towards Chandigarh along Sher Shah Suri Marg (G.T. Road) one comes across the beautiful tourist complex at Chakravarty Lake, 7 k.m. north of the town. A straight drive of another k.m. north ward brought us to the village 'Jhanjhari' which is 8 K.M. West of Karnal, 9 k.m. East of Neelokheri (famous for Community Development work), 6 K.M. east of the wholesale grain market Taraori and 3 k.m. east of Shyamgarh, a nucleous village in the area. Sher Shah Suri Marg runs across the village dividing it into ^{two} distinct parts - east and west. It is easily accessible by ~~red~~ road from Karnal and from other areas and the isolation of village life is not felt here. It is so dependent on Karnal town on various matters and it is proper to call it a fringe village rather than a village in the normal

sense.

4.1.1 The total area of the village is 624 acres and is one of the smallest villages in the region. The village is having a large number of pucca houses, pucca roads, fully electrified, hand pumps supplying clean drinking water and a drainage system. From a distance it gives a look of a congested slum area. (Map of the village and of the district attached).

4.2 Population and literacy: The village has a population of over 1,000 people (according to 1971 census population was 874, male 457 and female 478). The number of Scheduled Castes people (there is no S/Tribe in the village) was 378, male 139 and female 139 according to, 1971 census. There was a total of 212 households.

4.2.1 Literacy in the village is very poor. A total of 199 persons (male 166 and female 33) were literate according to the 1971 census. The situation has not improved much although there is a primary school and Balbari in the village.

4.3 Caste Hierarchy:

The villagers are all Hindus - there is no Muslim or Sikh inhabitant. The breakup of the different caste-groups are as follows:-

<u>Name of the Caste</u>	<u>No. of households</u>
Brahmin	7
Ror (the Dominant Caste)	70
Khatri	4
Baniya	1
Lohar	9
Jheever (Water-carrier)	1
Gadariya (Shepherd)	25
Harijan - Chamer	25
Harijan - Balmiki	35
Harijan - Dehs	35
Total:	212

Source: Village Patwari and Sarpanch).

4.3.1: The caste groups live indifferent localities

contd..8/...

and in some areas where they are mixed a clear line of demarcation is drawn between the high and low castes. The village is divided into four distinct localities Ror locality, Balmiki locality, Chamar Locality and Deh locality. The Harijans constitute the lowest level of the society. Even in this group the Dehs are considered to be inferior to Valmiki or Chamar Harijans.

4.3.2. While the first three localities are located on the western side of the G.T. Road, the Deh locality is on the western side/ called "Dehon Ka Dera" or "Choti Jhanjhari" and has not been fully integrated with the rest of the village. The dehs who migrated to area about 40 years ago, are still considered real out-caste are not emotionally integrated with the rest of the village.

4.3.3. The dominant caste group in the village are the Rors, which is a sub-caste of Jat group. They settled in the village about 300 years ago and have been the traditionally land-owning class. Inter-caste ~~xxxx~~ relations are delicately balanced in the village and the accepted norms are strictly followed. No villager can think of an inter-caste marriage in the village or even a marriage within the same caste in the same village.

4.4. Distribution of Land: Only 119 households mostly belonging to the Rors own land in the village. Based on a sample survey and on the basis of discussions with the Village Patwari the following pattern emerges:-

<u>Land-holdings</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Percentage of land area</u>
From one acre to 2.5 acres	32	27%
From 2.5 acres to 5 acres	20	17%
From 5 acres to 10 acres	55	46%
and above 10 acres	12	10%

But from the discussion of the individuals it appeared that only 5 to 6 households own land more than 10 acres and the majority of the land owners are marginal farmers.

4.5 Irrigation Out of 624 acres of land, cultivable area is 456 acres and the rest is settlement area. There is no wasteland in the village. The whole cultivable area of

contd..9/....

456 acres is fully irrigated by tubewell (231 acres) and canal irrigation (232 acres).

4.6 Cropping Pattern: The main crops grown in the village are wheat, paddy, potato, maize and two pulses—grams and urad. Of the cash-crops sugarcane, cotton and Toria (Oil seeds) are also produced. In addition, certain vegetables and fodders are also produced.

4.6.1 According to the Patwari 367 qtls. of wheat per acre and 380 qtls. of rice per acre are normally produced. An average income of 5.60 lakhs is derived from agricultural sources. Total yield last year was wheat-5872 qtls, rice, 6,080 qtls, maize 32 qtls., sugarcane 3,000 qtls., cotton 9 qtls., potato 720 qtls. and Toria 60 qtls.

4.6.2 Chemical Fertilisers are extensively used for all the crops and the villagers have become used to efficiently using modern fertilisers. In addition, traditional manures are also used.

4.7 Agricultural labourers A large number of people work as agricultural labourers mostly belonging to the lower caste and the high-caste marginal farmers. The agricultural labourers who are employed on permanent basis by bigger land-owners receive an income of about 2,000 per year.

4.8 Indebtedness and bondage: There is a Co-operative Credit Society in the village and most of the farmers receive loan for fertilisers and for marketing from the Credit Society. Some non-agriculturists also receive loan from the Society but at higher rate of interest (21%). The villagers also take loans from the moneylenders operating in the village and at Kernal town.

4.8.1. There was only one bonded labour and he is with the Minister hailing from the village. He is not bonded in the strict sense of the term because he gets advances and loans whenever necessary from the Minister's family and he is heavily indebted to him. He does not have alternative opening left to him to earn more. Still, the existence of this phenomenon shocked the group.

4.9 Status of women: Women in the villages are

confined mainly to the household and the society does not approve of women taking up jobs. In the high caste-groups, the women are mainly confined to the household chores and help their families working in the field. Lower-caste women work as labourers in others households or in the fields mainly on casual basis. They are given a lower rate of wage say 5 to 7 rupees against 8 to 10 rupees for men. The women generally observe 'Purdah' and do not talk to the men-folk freely. The visitors in the houses unless very intimate, are made to sit in the outer room and normally women do not come to converse with them. As a class they are quite suppressed and do not have much of freedom of action regarding their present position and future. The education of women is also not taken seriously and grown-up girls would be waiting to be married off. The women also are not particular about their rights.

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P A R T II

5. CONSUMPTION PATTERN:

5.1 In the area of consumption pattern, the subject allotted to me, I encountered a great deal of difficulty. Since consumption, particularly of food items are a private affair and since it is a function of income, the villagers were very reluctant to divulge the truth. The moment they came to know that the group consisted of senior government officials, they went into their shells and came out with evasive replies. Only when they were repeatedly assured by us and the village Sirpanch that we had come to the village only to know their way of life and had nothing to do with official business, which I think they accepted in half-disbelief, they slowly started giving useful information. It goes without saying that no correct picture can emerge within a period of ten days through interviews of a few selected people for a few hours and that too staying away from the village. It takes months to earn complete confidence of the villagers (which has been the experience of all social anthropologists) and in such a short visit, the truth cannot come out particularly on the sensitive issues of income and consumption. Therefore, I do not have the temerity or pretension to suggest that whatever emerged out of the interviews and discussions represented a correct picture, which I think, was impossible in the given situation. I did interview selected people in various caste groups and income groups and certain trends were discernible which could be proved only with deeper studies. The following paragraphs only represent my perception of the village, my personal observation and views based on the impression gathered during the short visit.

5.2 No correct picture on the consumption pattern could emerge through individual interviews mainly because of the following factors:-

- (i) The majority of the villagers including the rich and the literate were not aware of their net incomes. Most of them had very vague idea about their possible income and expenditure. For the agriculturists, in order to arrive at their approximate

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income we had to calculate the land under their possession, the average yield per acre, average market price of the commodities sold and their average expenditure on the inputs like water, seeds, fertilizers, pumps. Excepting those who are employed in various organisations like the Electricity Board, Municipality etc. no villager could give the exact account of his income and expenditure.

(ii) None of the villagers interviewed kept any account of income, expenditure and of the cash flow.

(iii) The concept of family-budget was entirely absent and they were not able to tell correctly their expenditure under the broad category of food and non-food items.

(iv) The villagers were not conscious about planned savings and investments and believed in spending whenever cash was received. Only a few rich farmers had bank accounts.

(v) No villager was paying income tax and in the absence of income-tax return they were not particular about estimating their income.

(vi) There was a tendency not to disclose the actual income owing to various reasons and they were inclined to inflate the amount of their expenses.

5.3 Income, consumption and equality are inter-related matters and in some ways consumption is a better measure of standards of living. Let us have a look at the pattern of consumption of expenditure by different expenditure groups collected by National Sample Survey (19th round):

Table 1
PATTERN OF CONSUMPTION - 1964-65 FOR RURAL INDIA.
(Percentage of consumption expenditure per person/month)

Expenditure class (Rs.)	Percentage of population in x class	Food of which	Foodgrains	Non-food	Total
0-8	3.18	83.63	63.52	16.32	100.0
3-11	5.99	84.14	62.20	15.86	100.0
1-21	42.13	82.24	58.23	17.76	100.0
1-23	22.02	77.57	49.93	22.44	100.0
3-75	25.01	65.52	36.44	34.43	100.0
3 and above	1.67	40.64	17.76	59.36	100.0
1 classes	100.0	71.77	44.87	28.23	100.0

(Source: The National Sample Survey, 19th Round July 1964-June 1965)

5.4 It can be seen from the above table that pattern of consumption of the poorer and richer are indeed very different, as is everywhere the case. This difference is noticed above between the broad-groups, food and non-food but also for components within each group e.g. for such things as foodgrains, milk products and sugar. As we start from the lowest level of expenditure, and work our way up, consumption pattern changes in similar manner for both rural and urban households, except that for each expenditure class the rural households spend a much larger proportion of total expenditure on food. For mean expenditure levels of Rs.22.4 (at 60-61 prices) for the rural areas, almost 80% of total expenditure is on food, the bulk of which is directed towards foodgrains.

5.5. Table 2 gives a comparative picture of monthly percentage expenditure for rural India on the basis of 19th and 28th Round of National Sample Survey. Table 3 shows the consumer expenditure pattern per person per month for different expenditure classes in rural areas of Haryana.

Table - 2

Comparative level of monthly percent expenditure (Rs.) by Fractile groups for All India: Rural (19th Round and 28th Round)

Fractile groups	At current prices				Constant prices			
	Total expenditure		Food Expenditure		Total Expenditure		Food Expenditure	
	19th	28th	19th	28th	19th	28th	19th	28th
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
0-10	9.06	21.58	5.60	18.19	6.34	7.63	7.78	5.81
10-20	13.10	29.69	7.87	24.95	9.16	10.49	5.39	7.97
20-30	15.70	34.90	9.16	29.23	10.98	12.33	6.19	9.34
30-40	18.24	39.76	10.08	33.09	12.76	14.05	6.91	10.57
40-50	20.56	44.90	11.14	37.09	14.38	15.97	7.53	11.85
50-60	23.18	50.62	11.76	40.83	16.21	17.89	7.95	13.04
60-70	26.62	57.58	14.67	45.45	18.62	20.35	9.91	14.52
70-80	31.11	66.93	16.67	57.26	21.76	23.65	12.27	18.39
80-90	38.56	82.15	19.08	60.13	26.97	29.03	12.90	19.21
90-100	67.02	135.95	21.29	82.28	46.87	48.04	14.40	26.29

(Source National Sample Survey 28th Round and Sarvekshana October, 1979)

contd..14/...

Table 3.

Percentage of Consumption expenditure per person (Rs.) per month
for Haryana: Rural

<u>Monthly per capital</u> <u>expenditure class</u>	<u>Food</u>	<u>Non-Food</u>	<u>Total consumer</u> <u>expenditure...</u>
0-18	11.33	2.50	13.83
19-21	16.57	2.56	19.13
22-34	24.41	6.33	30.74
43-55	37.67	10.04	47.71
55-75	49.14	15.37	64.51
75-100	62.79	24.01	86.80
150-200	101.52	70.41	171.93
200 and above	122.83	135.14	258.02
All classes	51.16	21.29	72.45

(Source: National Sample Survey, 28th Round)

5.6 It will appear from table 2 that rural consumption continued to maintain the same pattern during the period 1960-61 to 1977-78. According to the 28th round of National Sample Survey there was a decline in the consumption of cereals while their per capita net availability increased. This suggests that purchasing powers of the consumers during the period have gone down due to rise in prices which is supported by the fact that the All-India Price Index for agricultural labourers on food increased from 100 to 313 during the period. The condition in Haryana is much better than the All-India average and the per capita total consumption per month for all classes was Rs.72.45. For the village Jhanjhari also the pattern shown above appeared to be correct.

5.7 Another conclusion which emerges from these tables are that the bulk of expenditure in rural areas are spent on food items. A number of alternative estimates are available for the income expenditure elasticities of demands for food-grains in India. R. Thamarajakshi has estimated the income elasticity of demand to be 0.6 for the rural sector. V.M. Desai has estimated the expenditure elasticity for foodgrains for the bottom 5 deciles in the rural sector according to expenditure grouping to be between 0.6 and 0.5. In the village Jhanjhari it also appeared to be correct as the poorer people were spending about 80 per cent of their income on food items and richer people between 50% to 60%.

6 MEASUREMENT POVERTY AND PROFILE OF POVERTY IN JHARKHAND

6.1 Dandekar and Rath⁷ in their extensive studies on poverty in 1971 assumed a daily intake of 2,250 calories per adult male as the required minimum intake for subsistence. This is the figure estimated by Sukhatme also for Indian conditions and it is somewhat lower than the intake recommended by the Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research. In 1960-61 it would have required an income of Rs.170.3 per capita for an individual to be able to afford such a diet. According to Dandekar and Rath in 1960-61 roughly 40% of the rural population would have been living below the level of poverty. In 1967-68 allowing for changes in the price level, roughly 40% of the rural population would still be living below the poverty line. A number of studies have been conducted on this issue and a comparative estimates are given in table 4 below:-

Table 4
PROPORTION OF RURAL PEOPLE BELOW THE
'POVERTY LINE' - 1968-69

	Poverty line		(rupees per capita)	
	180	240	300	360
All Households%	24.19	42.43	56.41	67.15
Cultivators %	22.66	39.31	52.43	62.36
Agricultural labourers %	31.64	56.21	71.36	82.34
Non-agricultural workers %	21.95	32.55	55.87	69.70

(Source: I.Z. Bhatt, equity and poverty in rural India Sankhya Volume 36)

6.2. Recently, Government of India (for the purpose of integrated rural development) have taken Rs.62 per capita per month or Rs.3500 per year for an average family consisting of 5 members as the cut-off point for the poverty line. Considering that that average per capita per month consumption in Haryana is more than Rs.72/- (in which case average income would be much more) it may give the impression that rural people in

7. Dandekar VM and Rath M, Poverty in India, Economic and Political Weekly 1971.

Haryana are not living below the poverty line. The Planning Commission has recently estimated that 50.82 per cent of the country's population was below the poverty line in 1977-78 and Haryana does not figure in the list. But statistical averages may be very misleading and different from real-life situation.

6.3 My studies in the village 'Jhanjhari' revealed that taking a family unit of 5 members very few families were earning Rs.3500/- per year and very few individuals had earnings of Rs.62/- per month. Here comes the dynamics of inequity of income and consumption.

6.4 The various caste-groups of 'Jhanjhari' could be re-classified into the following economic groups:

Economic groups	Caste groups	Number of householders
Land owning classes	Rors.Brahmins Banias Khatris	119
Land-less Labourers	Chamars, Balmikis Gadaris	50
Services and professions	All castes	8
Self employed petty business and casual	Harijan,Dehs (Makes and sells Sukhaaj, Vinnow)	35
Total:		212

6.5 An anylsis of these house-holders will show that the majority of these families cannot afford a minimum nutrition-based diet. Even among land-owning classes the majority are marginal farmers having 1-5 acres of land. These marginal farmers do not have monthly income of more than Rs.3500 for a unit of 5 members. About 2 dozen farmers are affluent and only 5-6 families have monopolised all the gains from the Green Revolution, having tractors of their own and access to credit, fertilizers etc.

6.6 The landless agricultural labourers receive an annual income of Rs.1500 to Rs.2000 plus some casual meals. The average size of the families of this category of people is larger than 5 and, therefore they are living at subsistence level like many of the marginal farmers. In the professions it is a

Balmikis who are engaged in various kinds of menial jobs (as sweepers, cleaners, chowkidars etc.) receive incomes which keep them at the subsistence level as their families are also large.

6.7 Among the self-employed group the Harijan Dehs who are the real out-caste in the village are self-employed in that - they make 'Chhaaj' (or Vinnows for separating grains from husk) and sell them and also do petty hawker-business are also living at the subsistence level.

6.8 There is a sprinkling of slightly more affluent people in the lower caste groups who have built pucca houses but it would not be very much an exaggeration to say that the majority of the village house-holds and about 50% of the households in this village are living below the poverty line. It may be slightly below the national average but the fact remains that a large number of people are living at subsistence level in accordance with whatever criteria is adopted to measure poverty.

6.9 Poverty, whether measured in terms of income or on the basis of nutrition-level is concentrated among certain occupational classes both in the rural and urban sector. Most of the rural poors are to be found among two groups - peasant cultivators with very small holdings and landless labourers. In 1952-53 out of a sample of 7416 house-holders, 1,477 had a monthly consumption of less than Rs.11 per capita. Out of the latter 41% were farmers and a smaller percentage consisting of farm workers or agricultural labourers. Land being the main source of income in rural India, it is obvious that lack of access to land is a major cause of poverty. Interestingly enough, according to 1961 census, 44% of agricultural labourers came from the untouchable castes or tribal people. Only 40% of the agricultural labourers in 1958-59 were listed as being gainfully employed the rest being either unemployed or persons not in the labour force. The prevalence of poverty among the agricultural labouring households is underlined by the prevalence of rural indebtedness. In 1956-57, 63.9% of all labour house-holds were indebted. The wage rates were discriminatory for men and women the latter getting a lower rate of wage.

6.10 These findings at national level were astonishingly found to be correct in the village 'Jhanjhari' with minor variations. The majority of the poor were landless labourers and belonged to the lower castes. Secondly, lack of access to land was the main cause of poverty in this village. The prevalence of indebtedness is not acute because of the existence of a co-operative credit society in the village which gives loans to land-owners for agricultural purposes at the rate of 11-13%. But for non-agriculturists and for consumption purposes the rate of interest is 21% which is prohibitive for the poor people. Therefore, the landless labourers have to fall back on the traditional mode of procuring loans i.e. from the village moneylenders. One landless labourer told that he had to take loan from a rich landlords' relation and he had to pay at the rate of Rs.4/- per month as interest. Some people took loans from the money-lenders at the Karnal town. There was a case of one bonded labour whose father took a loan of Rs.1000/- from the family of a rich landlord (he is now a Cabinet Minister in Haryana Government) and he is so indebted to this family by subsequent loans that he does not have any means to repay them. He is having 9 daughters and no sons and he is the only earning member in the family. The wage rates are fairly high in this village, men getting about Rs.8 to Rs.10 and women 5 to 7 plus two meals but the labourers do not have work throughout the year and would be working for about 150 to 200 days in a year.

7. INEQUALITY OF INCOME AND CONSUMPTION

7.1 Apparently, village Jhanjhari gives all the looks of a prosperous village having a large number of pucca houses, pucca roads, tubewells and tractors for irrigation, hand-pumps supplying clean drinking water, a village panchayat, electricity in a large number of houses and a Minister hailing from the village of the Ror caste who is having a telephone and a television adding pride to the village. But this apparent prosperity is thrown into shreds when a deeper analysis is carried out of the levels of living of various groups. There is no doubt that Green Revolution has taken place in this area and the cultivators are able to raise 2-3 crops through use of modern fertilizers,

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implements and high-yielding variety seeds. The land is fully irrigated and most of the farmers have installed electrically operated tubewell sets and some have tractors. But the use of modern techniques and increasing mechanisation have also led to increasing capitalisation of agricultural production and has increased the gulf between the rich and the poor. It is the 5-6 families in the whole village who are having tractors and large possession of land and have access to all the facilities of credit fertilizers, etc. The small farmers and the marginal farmers, not to speak of the landless labourers, the Harijans, Dehs and Balmikis have not prospered much due to Green Revolution and are still living at the subsistence level. They cannot afford to have the facilities of tractors, necessary fertilizers and loans from the nationalised Banks. They are still using old bullocks and the plough and old methods of production only improvement being in the field of irrigation and limited fertilizers.

7.2 A summary of different estimates of income inequality in India is given in Table 5.

Table - 5
Different Estimates of Income Inequality India

Source	Ojha Bhatt	Ranadive	Ahmed- Bhattacharya	NCAER
Period covered	(Ave. 1961-62 to 1963-64)	(1961-62)	(1963-64)	(1964-65)
Share of top 10%	35	45.47	31.5	33.35
Share of bottom 20%	7	7.80	7	7.50
Lorenz ratio	0.377	0.351	0.372	0.39

(Sources: Bardhan (ed) The studies quoted are: Ahmed M. and Bhattacharya, N. Size Distribution of Per Capita Personal Income in India; EPW, July, 1972; NCAER All India Consumer Expenditure Surveys; Ojha PD and Bhatt, V.V. 'Some aspects of Income Distribution in India; Bulletin of the Oxford Institute of Economics and Statistics. August 1964; Ranadive, K. 'The "Equality" of Incomes in India' ibid, May, 1965).

7.3 It was found that this was equally applicable to this village also. In fact, the inequality was perhaps more because in this village it is the 5-6 top Per land-owning

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families who are taking the lion's share of income in the village. It is felt that over the years and particularly after the Green Revolution inequality has increased. Here again since land is the chief source of income inequality is bound to increase in the absence of equal distribution of land.

8. CONCLUSIONS:

8.1 The consumption pattern in the small village of Jhanjhari was in conformity with the pattern of consumption arrived at by National Sample Survey for the rural areas and also for Haryana in their 19th and 28th rounds. The expenditure on food and non-food items has increased over the years although there was a decline in the per capita intake of cereals. While the per capita availability of cereals marginally increased the intake showed a decline because of threefold increase in the price level of food items in rural areas since the early 1960.

8.2 About 50% of the villagers were not able to afford the minimum required diet as accepted by the Nutrition Advisory Committee of Indian Council of Medical Research as it would have required an income of more than Rs. 700/- per person per year to afford such diet. The villagers are also not aware of nutritional aspects of food and of the concept of balanced diet. The food habits cut across the caste lines and mainly consist of Dal, Roti, Sabji and milk. The majority of the villagers are vegetarians and very few people take meat fish or eggs. But no visible manifestation of protein deficiency was, however, noticed.

8.3 Whether on the basis of minimum nutritional diet or on the basis of minimum defined income the number of people living below the poverty line almost conformed to the national average which is about 50%. In this village the estimate was that about 40% of the people are living below the poverty line having income of less than Rs. 3500/- per year for a family unit of five members.

8.4 Inequality of consumption and income in this village conform to the national average and less than 10% of the population monopolises all the benefits flowing from Green Revolution into the village. The inequality of income and consumption has

increased over the years particularly after the Green Revolution. Because of this inequality very little change has occurred in the caste-structure and relations and in the attitude of the people towards life.

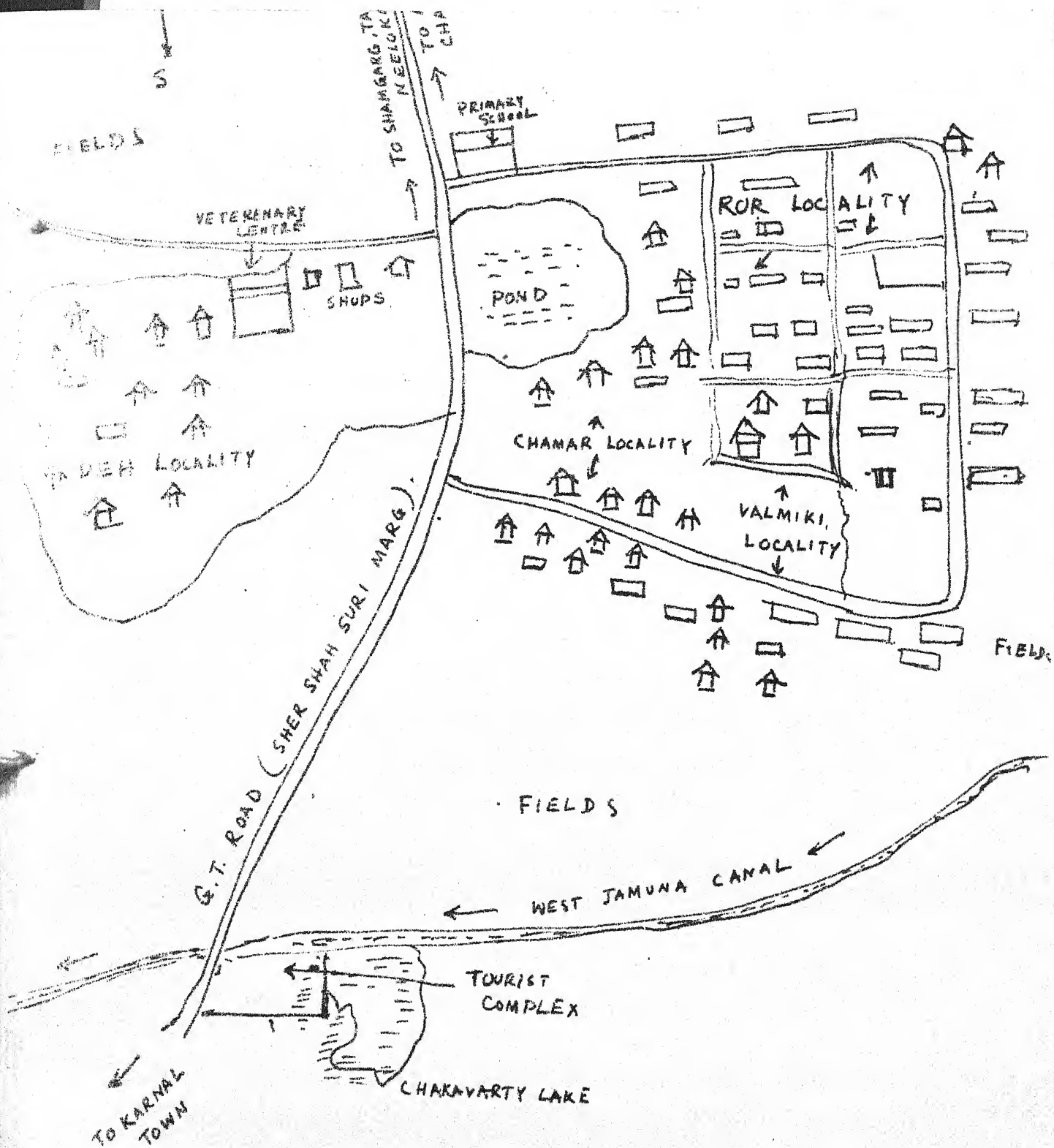
8.5 Lack of access to land is the major cause of poverty, Poverty is concentrated in the landless labourers and the low caste people who do not have land holdings at all in the village. Therefore, without radical land reforms and redistribution of land to the landless labourers and the lower caste groups, the existing inequality and poverty cannot be removed. There may be a temporary drop in production but in the long run, this is the only way which can ensure social justice and higher productivity in the villages.

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BLOCK BOUNDARY
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RIVER CANAL
TOWN ROAD
DISTRICT HQ
TOWN HQ
BLOCK HQ
COMMERCIAL BANKS
MUNICIPAL NATIONAL BANK
COOPERATING BANK
IDENTIFICATION NUMBER





VILLAGE MAP OF JHANJHARI

DISTRICT KARNAL, HARYANA

AREA : 2.5 SQUARE KM.

PUCCA ROAD : 

PUCCA HOUSES : 

KUCHA HOUSES : 

SIXTH ADVANCE PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME
IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

REPORT ON VILLAGE STUDY - CONSUMPTION PATTERN

ROLL NO. 621

STUDY OF CONSUMPTION PATTERN IN ARALMALLIGE
VILLAGE, DODDABALLAPUR TALUK
BANGALORE DISTRICT

C O N T E N T S

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C H A P T E R - I

Introduction:

1.1 The problem of poverty in India in general has been the subject of a number of studies. In their classic work "Poverty in India" Dandekar and Rath have made a detailed survey. There is also the Minhas Study on this subject. The question whether the average Indian particularly in the rural area is able to get atleast a per capita income which would enable him to have two meals a day has been the central focus of these and other studies.

1.2 There are broadly three views regarding the impact on poverty of the developmental efforts in the last 33 years after independence. One view is that poverty has been increasing over the years. Another view is that poverty has been decreasing over the years. A third view which is that of the World Bank is that from 1960 onwards the level of poverty and inequality has been fluctuating and there is no definite trend either towards an increase or decrease. The Institute of Economic and Social Change (IESC), Bangalore made an income study of Karnataka in 1974-75. While no simplistic conclusion is obviously possible in respect of such a complex subject. It appears from their study that both inequality (viewed in terms of income) as well as poverty (viewed in terms of consumer expenditure) fluctuated and on the whole they have been fluctuating downward.

1.3 In the case of urban inequality, the inequality can be clearly seen in the income disparities of various groups. In the case of rural areas, the inequality can be seen very clearly in land holdings. The Gini Co-efficient regarding the comparison of one position with another position on the Lorenz Curve shows the position as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>
1960-61	.32	.40
1974-75	.27	.36

The coefficient of inequality in land holdings changed from .67 to .53 during this period.

1.4 Subject again to the impossibility of arriving at any simplistic conclusion it would appear that rural inequality in India is somewhat less than urban inequality. In 1963-65, inequality in the whole of India, taking all areas, was estimated at .45 Gini Coefficient. The following Table shows the comparative position of income among the different groups in 1960-61 and 1974-75:

<u>Heading</u>	<u>1960-61</u>	<u>1974-75</u>
Bottom 10% of the population	3.78%	5%
Top 10% of the population	21%	24.42%
Bottom 40% of the population	20%	25%
Top 30% of the population	53.4%	50%
Middle 30 of the population	26%	24%

It is clear that we are very far from the ideal situation when the Gini Coefficient will be zero and there would be perfect equality.

1.5 Coming to the State of Karnataka, one of whose villages is the subject of the present study, poverty has been measured in the abovementioned study by the Institute of Economic and Social Change, Bangalore. The position is as follows:

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>% of people below the absolute poverty line.</u>	<u>% of people below the absolute poverty line</u>
1960-61	45% (urban)	37.7% (Rural
1974-75	39% (urban)	30.65% (Rural

It will be apparent that the absolute poverty line is lower in the rural areas than in urban areas. This may be partly due to the fact that the price level in

absolute term is lower in the rural areas and partly due to the fact that the food basket is generally lower in the rural areas. It would appear that the percentage of people getting two square meals a day is less in the rural areas of Karnataka than the urban areas. Viewed from the angle of religion the percentage of people below the poverty line is also different for Muslims and for Hindus. The position, as brought out, in the above-mentioned study in 1974-75 by I E S C is as follows:

Rural		Urban	
Religion	% age	Religion	% age
Muslim	46	Muslim	56
Hindu	35	Hindu	41

It will be seen that inequality among Muslims in urban areas is on the high side. This is due to the fact that very few rich muslims reside in urban areas whereas there is concentration of the poorer section of muslims in the urban areas.

1.6 The reasons for the fluctuation in inequality and poverty are many. Dandekar and Rath have held inequality in land holdings as the main reason for inequality. But there would seem to be no direct correlation between inequality in incomes and inequality in land holdings. The later may be only one factor. The level of inequality also fluctuates with the level of fluctuation in agricultural production and income. Another view regarding the reasons for the fluctuation in inequality and poverty is from the angle of association between per capita food production and per capita income. This association is fairly obvious (in urban areas the association is between per capita income and per capita non-agricultural income). The lower level of inequality in rural areas vis-a-vis urban areas may also be due to migration of the rural poor to the cities.

1.7 In Karnataka State in general (and this is true also of the village selected for the study) irrigation is mainly tank irrigation and not canal irrigation. It is

abvious that tank irrigation, which can support only one crop, cannot support a programme of rural development. it cannot support diversification. Other methods would be required if there has to be rural development and diversification. Even in respect of tanks, unfortunately the historically created assets in the shape of age old tanks are breaking down because they are not properly maintained.

1.8 The gross crop area has not registered any significant increase in Karnataka. However irrigated area has increased (both these features are applicable in the case of the village selected for the study). Out of the three sources of irrigation namely tank irrigation, well irrigation and canal irrigation, the latter two are increasing very rapidly in Karnataka. Tank irrigation has not been proved to be useful and is on the decline. As already stated, tanks are being neglected and they are fast being replaced by well irrigation (the increase in well irrigation particularly in the case of the village selected for study will be mentioned in greater detail subsequently). There has not been much significant change in the cropping pattern which is more or less the same as in 1951-52. The area under cultivation is on the decline in Karnataka. Long staple cotton is grown in canal areas (and therefore not grown in the village selected for study which is not served by any canal). Prices of long staple cotton have collapsed and therefore the cultivators have been hard hit. There has been switch over to local irrigated variety of cotton. Productivity of different crops was stagnant during the period 1951-64 but during 1964-65 to 1974-75 there has been a big increase in productivity of Rice, Jawar and Ragi. In the case of rice, the growth rate in productivity is 4% in the case of Jawar it is 6-7% and in the case of Ragi it is 7%. This increase in productivity is because of introduction of high yielding variety. For example high yielding varieties of rice accounts for 25% of the total area under rice cultivation. Other reasons for increase in productivity are increase in fertilizer consumption, cross breeding of Ragi (a rain fed crop) etc. The productivity of Jawar has gone up because of the use of high breed variety. However, the increase in Jawar Productivity is higher in the case of Khariff crop and not in the case of Rabi crop which is the main crop. As a result of the rise in productivity

Karnataka became self sufficient in 1972. Only Wheat was imported from Punjab and Harayana whereas Rice was exported from Karnataka.

1.9 Coming to the pattern of land holdings the 1961 Census reported that 35% of the area was under tenancy and 65% was owner cultivated. The 1971 Census showed a sharp change and only 5% was under tenancy and 95% was owner cultivation. This change has a historical background. Originally the Inamdars and the Jagirdars leased land to tenants and later during the period immediately after independence sold them to their tenants. There was further decline in tenancy between 1951 and 1961. Large sized holdings above 25 acres registered a decline by 20% in 1961-1977 while there was an increase by 16% of holdings below 5 acres in the same period. This is because of the purchase of the land by the tenants from the Inamdars and Jagirdars as well as distribution of Government land to the land less (less than 5 acres). This has meant more people cultivating the land and equality and security to the cultivators. The introduction of new seeds and high yielding varieties have resulted in small farms also obtaining as high a level of productivity as large farms. This is due to the fact that small farms can be more easily and better managed with family members working dispensing with the needs to employ agricultural labourers. The live-stock in the small farm has enabled the utilisation of organic fertilizers which are cheaper than inorganic fertilizers. For these reasons productivity in small farms has been increasing after 1964. New seeds have been introduced in large numbers in Karnataka State after mid 1960. The new high yielding varieties have been introduced, as already mentioned above, in Rice, Jawar, Ragi etc. which also happened to be the traditional crops. Consequently the existing crop pattern has continued. The stability in cropping pattern, therefore, does not mean stagnation. The impact of the above developments has been:

1.10 (A) Non agricultural classes like lawyers, engineers, etc. who used to be absentee landlords residing in the urban areas have been eliminated from the rural scene.

(B) The agricultural classes were earlier powerful. Originally, they were big landlords but with the fear of land reforms they started distributing their excess land and became small land owners.

(C) Small land owners of certain classes like Waherman, Carpenters, Artisans, etc. have been disposing of their lands.

1.11 All these three sections have migrated to the urban areas. Only the cultivating classes have been left in the rural areas who are owner cultivators. Bonded labour is technically abolished by Law. It has been replaced by contract labour. These labourers regularly get loan in kind in the shape of Rag (the main diet of the rural population) and instead of a money rate of interest the arrangement is that for every 100 shares the agricultural labourers working with the landlords at harvesting time would pay 16.32 and sometimes even 100 shares. In this way interest rates are still very high for the poor landless labourers. One can say that this arrangement of contract labour has in fact degenerated into bonded labour in actual effect although not on paper. The wives of contract labourers are also compelled to work free in the landlords land ("Jeetaloo"). Thus new dimensions of bonded labour have emerged in Karnataka in recent times alongwith new dimensions of land relations.

Objectives:

2.1 Five Five Year Plans have been completed in the last 30 years of planned economic development. As a result the tempo of activity in the various sectors has gone up. Agricultural production has increased significantly. Production of cereals has kept pace with the increased in the over all agricultural production. However this picture of over all growth in the rural areas is not sufficient to understand the changes in the standard of living of different groups of the rural population which have taken place as a result of the new agricultural strategy. Since the ultimate object of the new agricultural strategy is to raise the standard of living of the people, it is necessary to ascertain the possible changes that might have occurred in the levels and in the pattern of household expenditure on goods and services in the rural areas. An understanding of the pattern of consumption expenditure has, therefore, been attempted in respect of one village in the Bangalore District of Karnataka State with a view to get an insight into the problems of poverty and the efforts that have been made in that area to remove poverty in the context of the prevailing socio economic condition.

2.2 Strictly speaking a time series analysis of rural household incomes and expenditure should be made to ascertain the changes which had taken place. However this is not possible due to various constraints like limitation of time, lack of adequate comparable data relating to income and expenditure of rural households over a period of time etc. Consequently an alternative approach has been adopted of carrying out a cross section analysis of household budgets in the selected village. The consumption expenditure study based on the data obtained would throw light on the pattern of household income and expenditure and the impact of economic development. However in selecting the village for study advantage has been taken of the fact that in 1961 the Census Organisation had made a study of this particular village as part of their series of Village Survey Reports. Further the Department of Geography of the University of Hiroshima, Japan had carried out a field research in 1978 of this village. Although this study was from the geographical angle, some valuable data is available pertaining to 1978. The present study has, therefore, attempted an analysis of the changes over time.

Methodology:

3.1 Aralamallige Village was selected for study for a number of reasons. Firstly, as already mentioned above, the Census Organisation made a study of this village in 1961 and this was followed by a study by a Japanese team in 1978. The data relating to the past period is therefore available to some extent and this was one factor for selecting this village. Secondly, Aralamallige represents a typical village in the sub-region of the Southern Maidan of Karnataka State comprising parts of Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur Districts, where dry as well as irrigated crops are grown. Also Aralamallige is typical of the older kinds of villages relying on tank irrigation and where canal irrigation has not yet penetrated. The land used and cropping pattern in such a situation would be typical of other villages where canal irrigation has not yet been introduced. Aralamallige is also a multi castes village with a variety occupational composition. The accessibility to a nearby town was also one reason for selecting this village as the effect of urbanisation could be examined. Further Aralamallige is the Panchayat Centre in the group of 6 villages for which a Group panchayat was set up in

Aralamallige under the Karnataka Government Pancyayat Act, 1960.

3.2 Out of 311 households in the village, 30 households were selected for the study of the pattern of consumption expenditure. For the purpose of random sampling a list of households of the village was obtained from the Village Accountant. All the households listed were classified caste-wise and occupation-wise. A sample of household was selected from each group. Out of 16 castes in the village, the sample household accounts for 10 castes. All the castes could not be covered in the sample because the visit to the village for the study took place at a time when the agriculturists were busy in harvesting operation and within the time available for the study it was not possible to cover all the castes groups. Since from the view point of consumption expenditure, occupation was an important factor. It was ensured that the sample covered 8 important and typical occupational groups so that the consumption pattern would be a representative cross section of the various important occupational groups.

3.3 The individual household was taken as the unit for sampling purposes. "Household" has been taken for this purpose as a group of persons, related to each other, who live together and share a common kitchen. For purposes of covering data in each household the head of the household was contacted. For this purpose "head of the household" is taken as a person recognised by all other family members as the one responsible for taking financial decisions. Since households are engaged in more than one occupation in many cases the primary occupation of the head of the household was taken. Primary occupation has been taken to be the one from which the head of the household derives a major share of his income. For purposes of calculating income of each family, 'income' has been taken as the earnings, both in cash as well as in kind, accruing to all members of the family during the reference period. For example free meals provided to an agricultural labourer by the landlord has been converted into money and this imputed income has been added to the other cash income. The basis for the conversion factor is the alternative wage rates offered by landlords in the village. The daily wage rate has been found to be comprised of Rs.1½ content of free meals and wherever free meals were provided, the daily

wage offered by the landlord was Rs.1½ less than the normal rate.

3.4 The methods for calculating data were (a) interview with the head of the household and collecting the data on a Questionnaire (b) checking with official records village, block and other records); (c) discussions with Village and Block level officials, local leaders of the village and community leaders. A copy of the Questionnaire used for the collection of data on income and expenditure at the household level may be seen at APPENDIX-I. This Questionnaire was finalised after careful consideration taking into account the Questionnaires framed by the National Sample Survey, The National Council of Applied Economic Research (for their All India Consumer Expenditure Survey) etc. Unlike the urban areas where many people purchase provisions for a month and hence are able to give reasonable accurate data for a reference period of one month, persons in the rural areas are not in a position to supply consumption data on food items on a similar basis. It was, therefore, decided to collect data on the basis of daily physical consumption of foodgrains and other food items and convert into money at the local prevailing retail prices. In the case of agricultural families consuming foodgrains, pulses, etc. grown in their own fields, the imputed value has been taken into account and added to the expenditure.

3.5 The Questionnaire is printed in English. However, while interviewing the village households through the help of an interpreter, the interpreter was requested to translate the questionnaire into Kannada in such a way that the translation was as close as possible to the English version. The interpreters employed were high level officials like Assistant Director of Agriculture of the District, the Block Development Officer etc. whose knowledge of English was good.

3.6 Preliminary editing of the data collected was done immediately after the field study to ensure that the data was adequate and internally consistent. Final editing was done prior to analysis and preparation of this report.

3.7 The reference period was different for the various items of expenditure. In the case of food items, the reference period was one month preceding the field study.

In the case of non-food items, the reference period was again one month preceding the field study. Some other items like fuel and light, medical care and personal care were also based on one month consumption. In the case of items like house repairs, education etc. the reference period is one year preceding the field study. Similarly festivals, the reference period was the last one year preceding the field study.

CHAPTER -II

AREA PROFILE

1. Aralamallige is a medium sized village in Doddaballapur Taluk of Bangalore District, situated by the side of a large irrigation tank. It is 5 km. from Doddaballapur town and it lies on the high way connecting Doddaballapur town with another town called Nelamangala. The village has been in existence for over 600 years and it has a picturesque story regarding its origin. 'Arala' in Kaanda amidst Blossomed and allige means "Jasmine flower." It is stated that Jasmine buds made of silver were offered by a devotee to the village diety in fulfilment of a vow. This silver garland of jasmine flower is supposed to have blossomed into flowers on the day after the offerings; hence the name of the village is Aralamallige.

2. Aralamallige is a nuclear village. The inhabited area (Gramatana) of 14 acres is in the middle with the cultivated land around. There is a hamlet 6 furlongs from the village. The area of the village is 1863 acres out of which 1082 acres are cultivated land. The important food crops in the village are Ragi and Maize in the dry land and sugarcane and paddy in the wet land. Ragi is the staple food for the villagers and sugar cane is the important cash crop. As the cultivation of sugar cane fetches the highest income among crops in the village, the villagers have chosen to grow mostly sugar cane in the wet land.

3. There are 311 households in the village with a population of 1410 comprising 763 males and 647 females. Two castes namely Adikarnataka and Adidravida are Schedule

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Castes and they account for 191 persons. Being situated along the High Way Aralamallige is well connected with Bus service to Doddaballapur and Nelamangala town several times a day and is also connected with Bangalore city which is 29 miles from the village. Doddaballapur, the Taluk Headquarters is the most important town for the villagers. The Taluk Office, the Block Development Office, the Public Works Department, two colleges, a primary Health Centre, Banks etc. are all located at Doddaballapur town. Moreover Doddaballapur is famous for its silk Weaving Industry operated on power looms. The people of Aralamallige living within a walking distance of Doddaballapur can be expected to share the benefits of the town's prosperity. One of the major objectives of the present study was to see how far this proximity of the town actually affected the village.

4. As will be seen from Table I, the Village has 40 irrigation wells all operated by Pump sets. (This is as per the village record; the Japanese Study carried out in 1978 mentioned that there are 46 irrigation wells). There are 22 drinking wells and one Bore well. There is a Primary School 165 Boys and 103 Girls attend the school. There is a Health Centre, a Veterinary Centre, a Service Co-operative Society and a Milk Co-operative Society in the Village. The Service Co-operative Society gives loans, agricultural inputs like fertilizers etc. The Milk Society purchases milk sold by the households owning milch cattle. It will be seen from Table 2 that on an average 45 litres of milk are purchased by the Milk Society every day giving a daily income of Rs.90/- to the members of the Milk Society.

5. The civic needs of the village are looked after by the Village Panchayat which is a group panchayat formed under the New Panchayat Act, 1960. There are 5 other villages apart from Aralamallige in the Group panchayat. Metalling of new roads and constructions of drains are some of the items of work undertaken by the Panchayat. It has a building of its own. The Panchayat levies a house-tax at the rate of 4% of annual rental value of building. The licence fee is levied on all shops including Tea Stalls, Barber Saloons, Arrack shops, Flour mills etc. at the rate of Rs.25 per annum for small shop and Rs.50/- per annum for bigger shops. The panchayat also derives revenue by annual auction of gross grown on public village land. A water rate is also levied on wet land @ Rs.80 per acre of sugarcane and Rs.40 per acre of Paddy. The education

cess is also levied @ 10 Paise per rupee of the house-tax. There is also a library cess @ 3 Paise per rupee of house tax as well as a local cess @ 15 Paise per rupee of house tax. Land revenue was last revised in 1965 and is valid for 30 years.

6. Table 5 shows break up of irrigated and non irrigated land. It would be seen that tank irrigation is the main source followed by well irrigation. The land use pattern exhibited in Table 6 shows that the irrigated area has gone up from 398 acres in 1961 to 596 acres in 1980. This is mainly due to the opening of irrigation wells rapidly during this period of 20 years. The dry land has correspondingly come down from 683 acre in 1961 to 487 acres in 1980.

7. There have been sharp advances in agricultural technology in the village over the past many years. 50 years back Ragi was sown by the Broadcasting method. In the 1920's drill driven by Bullock was introduced. Now sowing in rows by drill has become the most popular form of Ragi cultivation. High yielding varieties have been introduced from 1940's onwards both in respect of Paddy and in respect of sugarcane. In the beginning of 1970's high yielding varieties were also introduced to Ragi cultivation. The most significant impact of the introduction of high yielding variety is the starting of cultivation of maize. It may be pointed out that as against the retail selling price of Rs.2.30 per Kg. of rice, the price of Ragi is Rs.1.70 per Kg and that of maize is still cheaper at Rs.1.30 per Kg. The introduction of maize cultivation has, therefore, greatly contributed to cheaper outlay on foodgrain consumption. The harvested area of maize now exceeds that of paddy.

8. In the end of 1960's the Japanese method of regular transplanation was introduced. The bigger farmers are the main classes who are following this method. The Japanese method of paddy cultivation has been readily accepted because of easier weeding and harvesting and more yields as compared to the traditional method. Chemical fertilizers were introduced for the first time in 1940's. After the introduction of high yielding variety in the end of 1960's the application of chemical fertilizer is wide spread and applied to all the main crops of Ragi, Paddy, Maize and

Sugarcane. Agricultural Chemicals have also been introduced since the end of 1950's and Chemical Insecticides have been introduced from 1970 to Paddy.

9. The most important change in agricultural technology is in regard to the replacement of the wooden plough by the iron plough. In the 1950's the iron plough with a small Moldboard was introduced. As the iron plough permits deep tillage, it is used by almost all the farmers. There is only one Tractor which is being used by a farmer living at Doddaballapur and who has land in the village.

10. Electrification of the village occurred in 1950's. This has brought about significant changes in the processing of agricultural products. There has been switch over of sugarcane crusher from bullock driven to power operated and the flour mill from stone mill to power mill. Combined with the change in the boiling method of cane juice, the use of power operated sugarcane crusher have improved the quality of crude sugar and increased the production of Jaggery. Mention has already been made of the fast spread of irrigation wells. Villagers in some cases have spent as much as Rs.20,000 to construct irrigation wells.

11. Improved variety of live stock has also been facilitated by the large scale use of cross breed especially the Holstane, Red Dane etc. There is an artificial insemination centre located in the village.

12. In 1976, the Karnataka Government made Legislation within all existing outstanding loans of the rural population from private moneylenders. Since then formal moneylending of the traditional type is not in vogue. The Service Co-operative Society is channeling loans from official sources. However, the majority of the villagers have not utilised this alternative source for two reasons. Firstly, the procedures for obtaining loans from this Service Co-operative Society is elaborate and time consuming. Secondly, once a loan is obtained, the second loan is not permitted until the earlier loan has been fully repaid within the stipulated period. The flexibility in re-payment of loans was a great attraction of the traditional method of money lending. Due to the inability or un-willingness to repay the loan once taken most villagers stand disqualified from taking further loan from the Service Co-operative Society.

Instead the agricultural labourer take loan in kind during the weeding season to be repaid during harvest time. The repayment is of the original loan in kind plus 25% which is the interest element. This practice is known as 'Vata'. It is also possible that the Service Co-operative Society may be controlled by one faction and those belonging to other factions may not be getting loans from the Service Co-operative Society. There is also prevalent the practice of advance payment by landlords to agricultural labourers although this advance is limited to wage for one or two days only. The drying up of the traditional source of money lending has no doubt reduced indebtedness but the at the same time it has also led to very distressing conditions, sometimes bordering on starvation especially during the off season when agricultural labourers do not find work for a living.

13. Interestingly land less agricultural labourers as per custom do not offer their services ab into for work in the land. The custom is for the land owning cultivators to approach the land less labourers for employment in the land. There is a stigma attached to the labourers offering their services for working on the land without being approached. In many cases cultivating families refrain from employing agricultural labourers and instead they have reciprocal arrangement with other related families for supplementing the family labours. Doddaballapur town does not seem to have made any significant impact on the village in respect of employment opportunities. There are isolated instances of individuals of the village going to the town for work. But these are not many. About 25 villagers commute to Doddaballapur for work. Apart from this, 19 persons stay and work in other places. In all, therefore, 44 persons belonging to the village are engaged in occupation outside the village. The reason apparently is that with the switch over of the Silk Weaving in Doddaballapur town from handloom to power loom the employment potential has gone down.

14. In the current year there is severe drought in the village and most of the small and marginal farmers have hardly earned any income from the land. The tank is completely dried and only the rich farmers who have irrigation wells have been able to withstand the drought. Even in the previous 3-4 years there seems to have been deficient rain and the last good year of rainfall seems to have been 1975.

CHAPTER - III

Results of the study of sample households:

(a) Socio economic characteristics of sample households.

1.1 Table 3 shows the caste-wise occupational pattern of the village. 514 villagers seem to be active workers out of which 29 are females. It is not that other females are not engaged in out door work. The out door work for female labour is mainly dairying where the household has milch cattle and daily rate work at the time of weeding operations. Only male daily labour is hired for ploughing work since these are heavier types not capable of being performed by females. Further the small number of females is due to the fact that the word 'occupation' has been taken to mean gainful profession. House keeping would stand excluded from 'occupation' in this sense. The 29 female workers shown in Table 3 are widows who have to support their families. If a wider view of female labour is taken, even including temporary daily rate work during 3-4 months in a year that the number of female workers would be 141 as per the 1971 Census.

1.2 The 30 households included in the sample survey are indicated in Table 8. Eight of the households have agriculture as their main occupation and 14 have agricultural labour as their main occupation. The survey covered 7 households of the Scheduled Castes Community of Adikarnataka, 5 of the Kuruba community and 4 each of Vokkaliga and Telugu Ganajiga. It may be noted that Arallamallgie has 16 castes; but the larger castes are Kurubas, Vokkaligas and Telugu Banajigas accounting for 20.6%, 19% and 16.4% respectively of the population. Larger number of the Adikarnataka families were taken in the sample because it was felt that the consumption pattern of the lowest caste deserves a more detailed study for purposes of examining the causes of poverty and measures required to improve their conditions.

1.3 It will be seen from Table 9 that the age group of 20 years or below accounts for a major portion of the total population covered by the sample. There are very few persons above 40 years in the sample. It will be seen from Table 10 that 1/3rd of the heads of households are

illiterate. Among the remaining, the majority have studied only upto Vth class. However from the data collected it was seen that the younger generation in these families are being sent to school (this will be evident from the fact that in the village as a whole 165 boys and 103 girls go to school). The analysis at Table 11 of the connection between income and education shows that persons who studied upto 5th class have lower monthly income as compared to those who have studied beyond the 5th class. There is no clear correlation between cost and income (Table 12). The Adikarnatakas have by and large a low income while the Bhajantri or Barbar caste has a fairly high income. The occupational-cum-income classification (Table 13) does not reveal any particular association between occupation and income except for a comparatively lower income for those who are engaged as agricultural labourers. However it may be stated that the agriculturists as a whole have had a very lean year in 1980 due to drought and the very low income from agriculture may not be representative of the normal income level of this category. Many of the small and marginal farmers also work as agricultural labourers to supplement their income from crops. This explains the reason for certain agricultural labourers families earning comparatively larger incomes. The higher income levels of the barber community is due to the fact that the barber community is also called upon to perform the work of Piper during marriage celebrations and their income from both occupations are, therefore, fairly high.

1.4 Barring a few exceptions, almost all the sample household families have their own houses. However, the dwellings are of different degrees of solidity and also the size varies. The Adikarnataka have dwelling with grass roofs. In some other cases Mangalore tiled roofing has been used and in a large number the houses are made of stones. RSC construction is very rare.

1.5 In 13 out of 30 households, there are two earners namely the husband and the wife. In another 7 households, there are three earners in each household. The remaining households have either one earner or 4 earners with one exception where there are 5 earners in the family. However, the female earners do not find work around the year because, as already stated, they are only employed for lighter work like weeding. While the daily wage rate is around Rs.5/- during harvesting for a male agricultural labourer, that

for a woman is Rs.3/- and for a child it is Rs.2/-. Where agricultural labourers are employed for ploughing, the daily rate is Rs.20/-.

1.6 Most of the households which covered by the sample, do not have any worth while assets other than kitchen utensils. There are exceptional cases where some of the households had a scooter (Vokkaliga family whose son is an M.B.B.S. Doctor commuting daily to Doddaballapur for work) Taperecorder, steel Almirah etc. A few have cycles. However, in the case of live stock there are a few families who have milch cattle so as to fall back on income from selling milk. Possession of bullock is not very wide spread and most of the small and marginal farmers hire bullocks on payment of hire charges during the ploughing season. Agricultural implements in the possession of the households are mainly limited to plough. All the ploughs are iron ploughs so far as initial ploughing operations are concerned. The wooden plough is used for the latter operations. The cost of an iron plough is Rs.120/- but with a subsidy of Rs.40/- given by the Government, the net cost works out to Rs.80/- only. One or two families have a seed drills.

1.7 In recent years Government have distributed some of the Government land among the land less labourers. These are dry lands less than 5 acres and Ragi is grown in such lands. The income from dry land was negligible in the current year due to the drought and many of the small marginal farmers have had to work as agricultural labourers to meet the fall in income. Very few of the sample households admitted having taken loans. This is partly due to the unwillingness of traditional moneylenders to risk giving any fresh loans after the 1976 Legislation abolishing outstanding loans. Where loans were taken in kind, it was found that the repayment of the loan in kind worked out to an interest rate of around 18% to 20%.

1.8 In most cases of agricultural labourers wages were paid in cash. There was one instance of a labourer earning Rs.3½ per day plus two free meals every day. There are one or two instances in the sample households where the agricultural labourer received one free meal. The trend is, therefore, for payment only in cash.

1.9 It may be mentioned here that it has not been possible to ascertain with any reasonable level of accuracy the extent of money income and what has been indicated by the respondent seems to be under estimation.

2.1 Pattern of consumption expenditure in the sample households.

Table 16 indicates the percentage distribution of expenditure among various expenditure classes. For this purpose the mean average of the sample households falling in the particular expenditure class has been taken to present an overall average picture for that expenditure class. It will be seen from this Table that except for one sample household in the income group Rs.176-200, the major part of the expenditure was on food items. Within food items, expenditure on foodgrains like rice, Ragi, maize, etc. was more than the expenditure on non cereal food in the case of income groups upto Rs.125/-. Income groups above Rs.150/- spend more on non-cereal food like Pulses, Milk, Meat, Egg, Edible Oils, etc. than on cereals. In other words, at the lowest income levels not only was most of the expenditure concentrated on food items but within the food items the major part of the expenditure was on foodgrain alone. The income groups above Rs.150/- shows a shift in taste away from cereals in the diet. Their lower expenditure on foodgrains is balanced by a higher per capita expenditure on all other major categories of food items as well as non food consumer goods and services.

2.2 Table 14 indicates the individual households in the sample classified on the basis of the percentage of expenditure spent on food items e.g. one household consisting of 4 members spent between 81% - 90% of the total expenditure on food items (both cereal as well as non cereal). As the expenditure class moves up the households spent a lower percentage of the total expenditure on food items, Table 15 reflects the reverse of this - namely the percentage of expenditure on non food items. The percentage of expenditure increases with the increase in the expenditure class.

Nutritional Adequacy:

2.3 An attempt has been made to ascertain the nutritional adequacy or otherwise. In Table 14 the per capita daily consumption of foodgrains i.e. cereal has been indicated in respect of the sample household. The consumption

of foodgrains, it will be seen from the Table increases from 250 grammes in the lowest expenditure class of below Rs.25/- per capita per month to 640 grams in the expenditure class of Rs.101-125. Calculating at the rate of 3.3 calories per gram of foodgrains (including substitutes), 640 grams of foodgrains give 2112 calories. This is in respect of the expenditure class Rs.101-Rs.125. It will be seen from Table 16 that the food expenditure upto this expenditure class takes up nearly 70% of total expenditure. Under Indian condition of climate etc nutritional experts have calculated that the minimum calories essential is 2250 calories. In other words, the consumption in terms of calories even for the expenditure class which consumes the highest amount of foodgrains is below that essential for nutritional adequacy. It is likely that the drought in the current years may have resulted in a lower consumption of foodgrain than in normal years. It is difficult to know whether this is so and whether the current year's consumption is lower than the normal consumption. So far as the expenditure classes below Rs.101-Rs.125 are concerned the per capita daily consumption of foodgrains ranges between 250 grams and 500 grams. There is no doubt that even in a normal year, the calories intake would be below that essential under Indian condition of climate.

2.4 As already mentioned earlier, the cost of Ragi per Kg. at Rs.1.70 and Maize at Rs.1.30 per Kg. is less than the cost of Rice which is Rs.2.30 per Kg. With the increasing cultivation of maize in place of Paddy, the poorer sections are able to maintain their calories intake. In fact, it would appear that one difference between the rural poor and the urban poor is that the rural poor are able to consume relatively more of foodgrains than the urban poorer. This is due to many reasons. Firstly, the urban poorer have to purchase foodgrains like any other article of consumption whereas in the rural areas, whether other consumer goods and services are within the reach or not of the rural poor, a certain minimum quantity of foodgrain is available whether grown in their own field or received as wage in kind, (in the case of land less labourers) In fact it was found during the field study that even relatively poorer sections consume some minimum quantity of meat (even if it was pig which is cheaper than mutton etc.) purely in order to maintain the stamina required for heavy field work. Ragi for example has more stamina giving properties than rice and the consumption of Ragi by the

poorer sections account for their possessing enough stamina for heavy field work like ploughing.

2.5 Regarding other items of expenditure other than foodgrains and other food items, the survey showed that there is very little expenditure on items like recreation, amusement, transport and communication, footwear etc.

There was relatively larger expenditure on festivals. However much of the clothing needs of the entire year is purchased on festival occasions and it was found that expenditure on a day to day basis for clothing like vests (Banian), towels, underwears etc. is negligible as compared to the expenditure on dress purchased during festival. In other words, the expenditure on festival which on the face of it appears extravagant relative to the income is highly utility oriented.

2.6 There was some expenditure on medical care inspite of the fact that a free Government Primary Health Centre existed in the Village and there was a Government Dispensary at Doddaballapur town. Villagers stated that the Government medical facilities were not suitable. There were long queues at Government Health Centre and the workers could not afford to waste time by standing in the queue and forfeiting thereby a days wage. They prefer to go to private doctors even if it mean paying a little money.

2.7 Educational tuition fee was exempt in most cases and the main expenditure on children's education was in respect of purchase of books and exercise books and stationery.

C H A P T E R - IV

Emerging pattern of consumption expenditure -
its implication vis-a-vis Government efforts
in the Village.

1.1 Consumer expenditure in the present field study has been taken in a very broad sense. It includes expenditure on cereals, pulses, oils and oilseeds, milk and milk

products sweetening agents; spices; vegetables; fruits, meat, eggs, and fish, beverages; intoxicants, pan, cigarettes, tobacco, etc. fuel and light, cotton, woollen and silk clothing including readymade garments, rent, amusements and sports, education, medicines, toiletry, sundry goods, transport and communications, ceremonials, etc. It was however found that there was not yet any significant expenditure on consumer durables and semi-durables such as furniture, musical instruments, kitchen equipment, footwear, electric fans, sewing machines, bicycles, motorcycles, scooters, etc. and expenditure on maintenance and repairs on such durables and semi-durables. However, the impact of modern life has been observed in the shape of cycles in a few households, taperecord in one particular household as well as a scooter in one of the richer families covered in the sample study. This indicates that in times to come new items of consumer expenditure in such durable and semi-durable items and on their maintenance and repairs may be emerging. It so happens that Aralamallige is only 5 km. from Doddaballapur town and therefore repairs to cycles, scooter etc. are still being done at the town. Being on the main high way and being serviced by frequent buses, there is no problem of commutation from the village to the town. It is reasonable to expect with the new agricultural technology and high yielding varieties and the use of fertilizers and increasing switch over to commercial crops like sugarcane, income levels will go up and the pattern of consumer expenditure will change. The percentage of expenditure on food items may decrease to some extent and in the non food items new items may appear. The developmental agencies and the Block Development Officer would have to take note of these developments.

1.2 Further there is a rapid change over from tank irrigation to energised pump sets. Existing irrigation wells are being deepened still further. During the field study it was observed that there was a full time Rig being used in the village for digging new wells and deepening existing wells as part of the villager's efforts to ensure irrigation round the year for sugarcane and paddy. There is likely to be an increasing requirement of spare parts and maintenance equipments for not only the pump sets but also for the sugarcane crushers, seed drills iron ploughs, tractors, etc.

Unless the Developmental Agencies gear themselves up there could be difficulties in meeting the new consumer requirements of the village.

CHAPTER - V

Summary of findings, conclusions and suggestions.

- (1) Expenditure on food items is more than the consumption expenditure on non food items in the case of 29 out of 30 households covered in the sample.
- (2) Expenditure on foodgrains was more than expenditure on other food items in respect of the expenditure class upto Rs.125/- (monthly per capita expenditure).
- (3) The per capita expenditure on cereal in higher expenditure classes is below the per capita expenditure in the lower expenditure classes. Also the per capita expenditure on pulses is lower in the higher expenditure classes than in the lower expenditure classes. Taken together it appears that the major change, as one goes up the expenditure class, is a shift in taste away from cereals in the diet.
- (4) Against the minimum daily calorie intake of 2250 calories required in Indian condition of climate the calorie intake is only 2112 indicating a shortfall in nutritional adequacy.
- (5) Very little expenditure is incurred on non-feed items.
- (6) There is negligible expenditure on durable consumer goods.
- (7) Apparently high expenditure on clothing incurred annually during festivals is highly utility oriented.

Suggestions:

1. Government should make available more facilities for cross breeding of milch cattle by introducing varieties like Holstane, Red Dane, etc. to enable higher milk yield

of milch cattle so that income from milk becomes substantial to lessen the dependance on income from agriculture.

2. The programme of irrigation wells should be stepped up so that the area under dry land is reduced and the area under wet increased to enable switch over from growing Ragi which is realitively less profitable to growing sugarcane which is more profitable.

3. The Service Co-operative Society should streamline its working to enable small and marginal farmers to turn to the society for assistance instead of to private moneylenders.

4. Another Primary Health Centre should be opened in the village to shorten the queues for medical treatment so as to avoid villagers having to depend on private medical Doctors and having to spent on medical treatment.

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STATUS OF WORK

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

VILLAGE STUDY

Jhanjhari - Karnal District
Haryana

"Status of Women"

by

Surinder Kaur

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
(1980-81)

VILLAGE STUDY

VILLAGE JHANJHARI - DISTRICT KARNAL -
(HARYANA)

"STATUS OF WOMEN"

-Surinder Kaur (Roll No.615)

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Status of Women was determined by the following factors:

1. Extent of Participation in Decision Making Process:
Examples of which are (a) Decision to marry, to whom and when, (b) Decision to have children, when and how many (c) Education of children, their upbringing.
2. Social Relations: Whether relations/friends of the wife are as much in touch as the husband's.
3. Economic Position: Whether women got any credit from the market or loan from the Banks. Whether they have any property in their name. These figures are to be compared with those pertaining to similarly placed men.
4. At Home: (a) Whether there is any sharing of domestic chores, (b) looking after of husband/wife in illness, (c) prevalence of bride price/dowry, (d) preference for sons/daughters (e) consumption pattern of boys/girls and men/women.
5. General: (a) Comparative wages of men/women; (b) Literacy rates, (c) Participation in politics.

AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study was to survey the general level of development of women in the Jhanjhari village, taken as an

sample of the area, and to study the impact of Government development plans, if any on women's role and status in the community. Lastly, the idea was also to make some suggestions for possible consideration, for improving the status of women.

At the outset, it may be mentioned that generally it was extremely difficult to get the actual statistics pertaining to women in many areas. The officials were particularly requested to provide statistics for the following:

Education:

Number of girls in schools with drop out rates. Adult education or any vocational training programmes, if any for women.

Health

Birth, mortality and life expectancy rates of men and women. The women/men covered by family planning.

Employment:

Number of women in employment. Their wages as compared to men. Any developmental measures benefitting women.

Unfortunately figures available were not complete and hence conclusions have been drawn on the basis of data collected during field visits.

M E T H O D O L O G Y

The data was collected during the interviews. The formal questionnaire was not followed though the general trend of questions was kept in mind. The fact of taking down notes, while talking to the villagers made them cautious in their replies and the spontaneity was lost. Most notes were jotted down, after the interview was over, and when the person

interviewed was not aware that his/her replies were being recorded.

The data collected from interviews, and observations made during field visits was combined with background statistics and figures available to denote the status of women vis-a-vis men in the social field.

The persons interviewed included 15 women, four of them belonged to Deh Community, five were Balmikis and four were Rors, one was Panch and one school teacher. About an equal number of men were interviewed about their perception of status of women. These included one Sarpanch, a school Teacher, a Lohar, 5 Rors, 4 Balmikis and three Dehs.

Ror is land-owning community and consider themselves to be equal to Rajputs and Jats. Very few persons belonging to any other caste own land in the village. Khattris run Kriana shop and are migrants from West Pakistan. Dehs make Chhajs (vinows). Balmikis mainly work as agricultural labourers. Jhanjhari village has no industry, handlooms or handicrafts. Most of the people therefore are engaged in agriculture and its related activities.

1. EMPLOYMENT

Village women either worked in their own fields, or in the field of others as hired help, in addition to working as cooks, mothers and tenders of cattle in their own houses. No woman of the village was employed in any Government job or was in any other kind of employment, though 60 men of the village were paid employees (Govt. jobs or other permanent employment). The wages of women working in the field were Rs.5/- per day as compared to Rs.8/- paid to men. This work as hired labour was available to women only during sowing and harvesting seasons. In other months of the year, women worked in their own homes. Some have taken to weaving 'Durrries', but

that is done only for domestic consumption and not for selling. There was no handloom or handicraft industry worth the name in village. Some women belonging to families owning cattle also sell milk. Women have no other side profession to earn money like selling vegetables or collecting firewood etc.

Women of Deh community, which lived in a separate area, across the G.T. Road from the village, though a part of the village do not venture into the fields. They only make Chhaajs and their men sell it. A woman can make about 4-5 chhaajs a day which they normally sell at about Rs.5-6/- though it may fetch higher price during harvesting. According to 1971 Census there were 217 workers in the village and all of them males. Unemployment figures of same Census was males 240 and females 417.

2. EDUCATION

There is only one Primary School in the Village. The attendance of the school totals 116 of which 80 are boys and girls number 36. According to 1971 Census, the literates in the village were 166 males and 33 females. Girls of either rich families or very poor Balmiki or Deh families go to school. No girl of over 10 years was seen attending school. Most of the girls did not attend school because they were found to be burdened with household chores from a very tender age. It fell to their lot to look after the smaller brothers or sisters and help the mother in general chores around the house. The boys, even though they did not attend school had no corresponding household duties. Even their own little chores were passed on to their sisters, even though they were younger to their brothers.

There are only three girls in the village who have passed middle school. All of them belong to Ror community. On the other hand there are 3 boys who are graduates and about 15 who have passed matric. The nearest middle school is in the neighbouring village Uahana one kms. from Jhanjhari.

Most villagers were hesitant to send their daughters to neighbouring villages for studying for the fear of the girls going astray or being teased by boys resulting in decline in their value in the marriage market. Parents thought that educating girls was of no use except that it kept in enhancing the chance of their getting better matches.

There seemed to be no scheme for adult education for women.

One school teacher was woman. She was universally condemned as inefficient and unable to control the children. The anger seemed to be directed against her knitting in her spare time and her preoccupation with her husband, home and children and possibility of her taking maternity leave or absenting herself in the event of her children's illness or other domestic crisis.

The anger was obviously unfounded because not even one charge was substantiated. It appeared that she was being labelled all wrong things because of her sex.

The Nehru Yuvak Kendra has opened up a vocational guidance centre for women, where knitting, sewing and stitching is taught. Only 10-12 girls attend the classes as most of the girls of the village are busy in attending to routine domestic chores. Those who attended the centre also did not take it seriously and thought it more as a recreational activity.

3. WOMEN AND POLITICS

There is one woman Panch in the village. Her name is Mangti, is 65 years of age and has been Panch for the last 10-12 years of age. She is quite vocal in Panchayat meetings. But her contribution is not considered significant. It appeared that she being older than even Sarpanch was often indulged.

About 5 years ago a Mahila Mandal was established at the instance of Sarpanch, but because of lack of interest on the part of women folk, the organization was wound up. Now there

is no organization of women in the village. The women have no leader of their own. Men leaders lead women too.

Women in general were quite aware of the politics around. They knew that the Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister. They also knew about various political parties and the party in power. They were also aware of the election process. In fact they showed as much awareness as men of the area. They caricatured the behaviour of the candidate standing for election, while trying to get votes from the lower castes. They sneered at his superficial efforts of calling them his own and almost knee touching. No woman of the village was represented in Politics at State level, though a man from the village by name Shiv Ram Varma is a Minister in Haryana Cabinet.

4. RELIGION

There is one Shiv Temple in Dadupur (3 kms. from Jhanjhari), one Mata Temple and one Sayed ki Mazar in the village. Women in general seemed more religious and superstitious than men. There was no system of going to temple regularly. Women went to temples only on occasions. Women of higher castes had some murtis in the corner of their houses. But women of lower castes did not have any pooja corner in the house. Most women did 'Havan' in their houses on occasions or distributed Gur, sweets according to their status in the name of the God after fulfilment of their wishes.

The religious functions are mainly associated with Death, Birth and Marriage. Most of the religious functions seem to be women affairs though the Priest, Pandit or Purohit is always male. The participation is mostly of women, though men folk are interested onlookers. No religious function is complete without women and entry of women is not banned to any religious precincts. Though men were not allowed entry into the temple of 'Mata' the female Goddess.

5. AGE OF MARRIAGE

In most families, the girls got married, at the attainment of puberty, say 12-14 years. The marriageable age for boys was generally found to be 16-20 years. The average age of marriage tends to be lower in the low caste families than in high caste ones, for example a Deh girl got married at the age of say 13, but a Ror girl normally got married only at the age of 18-19. In some families, the marriage ceremony was performed much earlier, say at the age of 12th but was consummated only a few years later. In one Balmiki family interviewed, the girl had got married at the age of 8, 4 years hence and the girl was still in the parents house. It was expected that girl may go to her husbands house, sometimes next year. Partners for marriage are normally selected from outside the village, the distance ranging from 8 miles to even 100 miles.

6. CONSENT FOR MARRIAGE:

All marriages took place at the initiative of the parents mostly fathers. The girl and the boy do not even see each other. The village elders took pride in declaring that in the past decade there has not been even one run-a-way marriage. Whereas the boys were generally involved in the discussion about the coming marriage - the topic was almost forbidden for the girls. She is only told or even overhears the news of her impending marriage. Girls normally live in their husbands houses after marriage and break all ties with their parents and family members.

7. DOWRY

In all the communities the practice of dowry was prevalent. Even in lowliest community of Dehs the practice of dowry was there instead of Bride Price. The dowry given to a daughter ranged according to economic position of the families while Deh's spent Rs.5000 on marriage, the highest caste in the village, Rors spent more than 50,000 on each marriage. The

dowry was mostly in the form of presents to the Bride, Bridegroom or the Bridegrooms family, which mainly consisted of clothes, jewellery for Bride, household articles and utensils and sometimes, where they could afford even furniture also.

8. WIDOW RE-MARRIAGE

In lower communities widow remarriage was prevalent. In Deh and Balmiki community, the widows often married again. But in higher community of Rors, the widows could be married only in the family of the husband, i.e. to the close relation of the husband like a brother or uncle. This custom is called 'Chaddar Dalna' and was started mostly to prevent the property in the name of or inherited by the widow going to another family. In Brahmin families, the question of widow remarriage was unheard of.

9. PREFERENCE OF SONS OVER DAUGHTERS

Irrespective of the caste of the family, sons are preferred to boys. Though no discrimination against daughters was obvious, women went out of the way to impress upon us the impartial treatment meted out to sons and daughters almost expecting a pat for their bravado in suffering daughters.

10. CONSUMPTION PATTERN

Most of the villagers were vegetarians. No woman was reported to be non-vegetarian or accustomed to alcoholic drinks, though many men were pointed out to be accustomed to meat eating and alcoholic drinks. Men got preference in share of food, followed by sons, then daughters and last of all and mostly left overs were consumed by wives. Wives invariably ate last in the family.

11. HOUSE HOLD CHORES

The concept that the household chores are menial and hence the lot of women was well established. The idea of the husband sharing or doing the household chores or tending children evoked derisive laughter as something unethical and demeaning for men. Even in the event of wife's illness, the women of the neighbourhood usually come to the rescue of the ailing wife and husband is served as he is used to.

12. ADOPTION OF FAMILY PLANNING

The only means of family planning known to women was sterilisation. During Emergency, many men of the village were forcibly sterilised, it was alledged. Only 3 women in the whole village have undergone tubectomies as against about 60 vasectomies. This was because of the general fear of complications of tubectomies. After Emergency there were only 3 cases of voluntary vasectomies. Some families even had 10-12 children and parents had not still undergone sterilisation. When questioned about the reason, the women said that nobody came to pick up our men as if they expected the raids and forcible picking of men as the normal modus - operandi.

13. CREDIT BY COOPERATIVES:

A cooperative society exists which gives loan for agricultural and non agricultural purposes. Not even one woman has got any loan, though the society has so far given Rs. 3.25 lakhs as loan to 275 men. In market also most men got credit and no woman got any.

14. FINANCIAL CONTROL OVER THE FAMILY BUDGET:

Though in all families interviewed, the men gave their earnings to the women of the house for safe keeping. The real control of family budget remained with men. How much money is to be spent and where is always husband's decision.

15. INHERITENCE RIGHTS

Though most men and women were aware of the equal inheritance rights of sons and daughters, the actual implementation of it was nowhere areas it. Most men and women felt that it was very impractical law enacted to create differences between families. It was generally felt that the daughters share of property should be given to them as dowry and sons should share the property. The idea of a sister asking of division of property from brother was as unacceptable to women as to men. No women interviewed had any property in her name.

16. PERCEPTION OF WOMEN OF THEIR STATUS

Women seem to be taking quite an active part in decision making process whether inside the houses or outside the houses. Many wives were found to be more vocal as compared to their husbands on many issues. Their views were found to be rational and well founded and their argument cogent and coherent.

This was particularly so in the women of Deh and Balmiki community. But when put a stright question as to who is the master of the house, the unhesitating reply of both men and women was that it was the man and the woman were listened to only when they had any thing worth while to say.

The women of higher castes were withdrawn, less outspoken and more tactful. They gave evasive and diplomatic replies, and raised eyebrows at the question that whether there could be even a remote possibility of a woman being a dominant partner.

C O N C L U S I O N

The general impression from the study of the village indicates that status of women is definitely lower as compared to men in all fields. It is equally evident that they are content at the state of affairs. Age old traditions have ingrained in their minds, that men are superior beings and salvation of women is only through serving their men well,

be it father, husband or son. The attitude of the men towards women also revealed that women were considered to be fit only for domestic chores and daughters were something that have to be suffered till first opportunity for marriage arose.

The status of women of lower castes i.e. Deh and Balmiki community appeared to be better than the status of women of Ror castes. The reason perhaps may be that women of lower communities are equal earning partners whereas women of Ror are completely economically dependent on their men folk.

Girls have less choice in marriage as compared to boys. Their marriage age is lower, so that they can be moulded according to the wishes of the husband and in-laws. They seemed to have very little say in their husband's house, either on the way to spend money or in the upbringing of their children. They had no property in their names, they did not even want any. They did not get any loan from cooperative societies, or from Banks. Their literacy rate is low, employment potential negligible and they are confined to kitchen and domestic chores. Even in illness, husbands do not come to their rescue, they have to depend on women of the neighbourhood. Naturally when a daughter is born, she is suffered, given less to eat than her brother, educated less than her brother, trained in domestic chores (which is to be her fate) from an early age, married off at an earliest opportunity for perpetual slavery to the husband and her in-laws. The tale of woe starts again when a daughter is born to her.

There is a crying need for uplifting the status of women. The situation is so bad that they are not even aware of their conditions, far from wanting any improvement in it. Some adult education classes, vocational guidance programmes or increasing the employment potential of women may help in improving their economic lot and hence their status.

Sixth Advanced Professional Programme in
Public Administration

VILLAGE STUDY REPORT

STATUS OF WOMEN IN ARALAMALLIGE VILLAGE
BANGALORE DISTRICT
KARNATAKA STATE

R.P.RAJAMANI

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI

The Status of Women
in
Aralamallige Village, Karnataka State

Introduction: Any assessment of the status of women has to start from the social framework. Social structures cultural norms and value systems influence social expectations regarding the behaviour of both men and women and determine a woman's roles and her position in society to a great extent. The most important of these institutions are the systems of descent, family and kinship, marriage and religious traditions. They provide the ideology, and moral basis for men's and women's notions about their rights and duties. The normative standards do not change at the same pace as changes in other forms of social organization brought about by such factors as technological and educational advance, urbanization, increasing population and changing costs and standards of living. This gap explains the frequent failure of law and educational policy to produce the desired impact on social attitudes. The social status of women in India is a typical example of this gap between the position and roles accorded to them by the constitution and the laws, and those imposed on them by social traditions. What is possible for women in theory is seldom within their reach in fact. Hence the status of women in the Indian context can not be defined simply. The existing inequalities and imbalances had resulted in differences in the impact of the various forces of change on different groups of women. In order to understand

the nature of the constraints and disabilities that affect. Women in the performance of their multiple roles in the society, the economy and the polity, they have to be seen not as a homogeneous group, but as members of different sections of the population, according to the differences in their levels of social existence. It is in this context that a study was taken up to assess the status of women in a village, for the rural population of women in India is more than four times that of the urban population of women and hence more representative in nature. Aralamallige, a village in Karnataka State which is the sixth largest state in India and eight in population with an area of 1,91,733 sq. kms. and population of 29.29 millions in 1971 was chosen for the purpose of our study. The choice of the village was made essentially on the ground that a socio economic survey had been conducted in this particular village in 1961 which would help us compare our findings.

Aims and Objectives of the Study: The aim of the study was to survey the general level of development of the women in the region, particularly in the Aralamallige village and to study the impact of government development plans if any on women's role and status in the community. It is also the intention of the study, if need be to suggest measures for improving the status of women in this village.

Methodology: The study was made combining field visits, observation method, and informal interview method with whatever background statistics and figures available to denote the status of women vis-a-vis men in the various fields. Out of the sixteen jatis living in this village thirty women from out of thirteen jatis were picked out on a random basis and interviewed. Besides, two women centenarians of the village - Nagamma wife of Munivenkatappa and Doddakka wife of Byre Gowda, the only woman Panchayat member of the village - Anumakka wife of Nanyiah Gowda, the convenor of the churcha Mandal - Rudamma, the Mukya Sevika of the village - Vimala Ratna, the village school Head-master K. Ramakrishna Rao, the teacher in charge of the Night School - Saradamma, Daughter of Muniswamappa, A.V. Chandrasekariah son of Veerabadriah, an enlightened elder of the village and the husband of the Mid-wife Mrs. Esther Williams in charge of the Primary Health Centre were also interviewed. Before proceeding to the village, complete statistics of the village were gathered from the census office at Bangalore. Discussions were also held with the senior officers of the Census office, the members of the Faculty of the ~~Institute for Social and Economic~~ ^{change} Bangalore and the Institute's honorary director Sri V.K.R.V. Rao. A preliminary discussion was also held with the officials of the village like the Tehsildar, the Block Development Officer, the Junior Engineer and others. The language problem posed considerable

difficulties in obtaining precise replies. Some of the interpreters provided were educated members of the village itself and hence known to my respondents. This I found fettered the women from giving free and frank opinions. The men in many house-holds considered it a prerogative to be present during the interview of their women and hence truth was not forthcoming in all cases. Therefore, there must be falsehoods in the tabulation. However general tendencies can be observed.

Area Profile: Aralamallige, a medium sized village in Doddaballapur taluk of Bangalore District in Karnataka State, is situated by the side of a large irrigation tank which is constructed in a shallow valley of undulating uplands of the Southern Maidan. The village is located at $13^{\circ}15.7'$ north latitude and $77^{\circ}30.5'$ east longitude and only 5 Kms. from Doddaballapur town, with which it is connected by the Doddaballapur Nelamangala State road. The village is situated in a region which is open and undulating covered with scrub jungle. It lies within the river basin of Arkavathi. There are no hills in the immediate neighbourhood. The climate in the region is very salubrious. It is not very much different from Bangalore where the mean temperature is about 76. The annual rainfall recorded at Doddaballapur is 30" received mainly between May and November. The North East Monsoon contributes the maximum.

There are no certain records to show the origin of the village, but there is a stone inscription in old Kannada in the village temple of Channakesava which indicates that the village was in existence over 600 years ago. There is a legend attached to the name of the village. It is stated that a devotee offered a garl and of jasmine buds made of silver to the image of Lord Channakesava in the temple in fulfilment of a vow. On the day following the offering, it was observed that the buds had blossomed into flowers. The village therefore came to be called "Aralamallige "or" Aralithu Mallige" which means "Jasmine blossomed".

The area of the village is 1863 acres (7.54 sq. kms) out of which 1082 acres are cultivated lands. Though the extent of land under different crops varies slightly from year to year, the important food crops in the village are ragi and maize in the dry lands and sugarcane and paddy in the wet lands. This cropping pattern has come to stay for a long time as ragi is the staple food for the vast majority of the villagers and sugarcane is the important commercial crop.

Population: There are 311 households in the village, with a population of 1410, comprising 763 males and 647 females (According to - Geographical Field Research in South India 1978 - A Progress Monograph Edited by Kenzo Fujiwara, Department of Geography, University of Hiroshima - March 1980). The village population has a strong bias toward the male which is a common feature in Indian villages. The sex ratio of total

population is 117.9 males to 100 males which is higher than usual in India. Sex ratios are much different from 266.7 males in the age group of above 70 to 63.5 males in that of 35-39 years old. No clear reasons for such big differences can be identified.

Population by Caste and Sex in Aralamallige

S.No.	Jati	No. of House holds	Male	Female	Grand Total
1.	Brahmin	2	3	2	5
2.	Lingayat	10	27	21	48
3.	Vokkaliga	59	141	136	277
4.	Telugu Bananjiga	52	139	110	249
5.	Kuruba	64	153	132	285
6.	Kammara	12	27	23	50
7.	Uppara	12	27	23	50
8.	Bhajantri	4	16	7	23
9.	Agasa	2	1	1	2
10.	Bbda	32	83	70	153
11.	Vadda	11	29	19	48
12.	Tamil Banajiga	1	3	2	5
13.	Besta	1	1	0	1
14.	Marathi	1	3	2	5
15.	Adi Karnataka	39	94	79	173
16.	Adi Dravida	5	7	11	18

S.No.	Jati	No. of House holds	Male	Female	Grand Total
<u>Contemporary settlers</u>					
1.	Jain	1	4	3	7
2.	Maduliar	1	0	2	2
3.	Ediga	1	1	0	1
4.	Yelavaru	1	1	2	3
5.	Telugu Banajiga	1	3	2	5
		311	763	647	1410

Jati Composition: Aralamallige is a multijati village. There are 16 jatis living in the village excepting 5 jatis of temporary settlers. The following six jatis out of total sixteen- Lingayats, Vokkaligas, Kurubas, Kammaras, Bhajantris and Adi Karnatakas are stated as original inhabitants of the village. They can be grouped into four Lingayats perhaps as priests, Vokkaligas and Kurubas as cultivators, Kammaras and Bhajantris as village artisans and Adi Karnatakas as agricultural labourers. The other jatis came to live in the village in later ages. One of the characteristics of jati composition of Aralamallige is found in the lack of numerically dominant jatis. Of the total 311 households, the major and powerful jatis are Kurubas, Vokkaligas and Telugu Banajigas, but their household numbers are almost equal. They form the major group of agriculturists in the village. In addition to them Bedas and Upparas are included into agriculturist group. Next to agriculturists come artisans and service jatis group composed of the following

nine jatis. They are Bhajantris (barbers) Agasas (washer man) Kammaras (blacksmiths and goldsmiths), Voddas, (stone cutters), Tamil Banajiga, originally an agriculturist but engaged in boring and constructing wells), Marathi (originally an agriculturist but working as a dancer), Besta (originally a fisherman, but a beggar in the village) one Ediga (a toddy seller) and one Yelavara (the maker and seller of cattle drugs) households. The third group is Brahmin. Only two Brahmin families are living in the village, whose social position is the highest of all. They are the former shanbog (Patwari) and school master. The fourth group is the Lingayats households, whose social position is next to Brahmins. The Lingayats took the Brahmin's place as priests in the early history of the village. The Lingayats are now engaged in various occupations. The fifth is scheduled jati group which is formed by Adi Karnataka and Adi Dravida households. The last group consists of contemporary settlers belonging to the government.

Occupation Distribution: According to the Japanese Survey, of the total population of 1410, 514 persons which include 29 females possess a main occupation. The small number of females is due to both the lower estimation of their labour participation and the Japanese research design, which confines the word of "occupation" to gainful professions only. Thus house keeping is excluded from occupations. Most of the female workers according to the Japanese survey are widows, who must support their families. They are classified into agriculturists, agricultural labourers, tailors, tea shop keepers,

traders and a nurse. From the present survey it was found that a number of unmarried female members are also engaged in jobs especially in the former two occupations. In the village according to the Japanese Survey 112 persons follow subsidiary occupations of which 13 are females who are engaged essentially in hired agricultural labour. These figures were also found to be grossly under estimated.

The Occupation Distribution of the
villagers as per census 1971

S.No.	Occupations	Male	Female	Total
1.	Cultivators	348	99	447
2.	Agricultural labourers	91	37	128
3.	Livestock, Forestry etc.	-	-	-
4.	Mining and Quarrying	-	-	-
5.	Manufacturing, Processing Services, Repairs - Household Industry	15	2	17
6.	Other than Household Industry	2	2	4
7.	Construction	4	-	4
8.	Trade and Commerce	10	-	10
9.	Transport Storage and Communication	5	-	5
10.	Other Services	21	1	22
Total Workers		496	141	637
Non Workers		268	531	

Literacy and Education: The literate and educated persons of the village according to the Census of India 1961 were 354 of which 283 were males and 71 were females. The percentage of Literacy in the village worked out to 27.6% as against the district average of 19.9%. The percentage of literacy in the village in 1961 had gone up by 1.6% over that in 1951. Literacy among the males worked out to 45% whereas literacy among the females was so low as 11%. According to Census 1971, the literacy rate of the village works out to 44.56% and 418 out of 764 males and 222 out of 672 females were found to be literate which works out to 54.71% and 33.03% respectively. Whereas the literacy rates of the village and the males have registered considerable increase, the female literacy rate has trebled, which is a remarkable trend. Since 1881 there is a Primary school in the village called Model Primary School which has classes I to VII. The total number of children in the school at present is 320 with 191 boys and 129 girls as compared to the 1961 figures of 119 boys and 57 girls. Here again the enrolment of girls has shown a marked increase as compared to the boys. The village had a Night School for boys under the Adult Education Scheme from 1972 upto 1978. Then it was taken over by the Assistant Education Officer, Doddaballapur and since 1979 both boys and girls attend the school which has a male and a female teacher. When the school started in 1979, there were only 15 girls and 20 boys. Now in hardly a year's time, the enrolment of girls has doubled (30) but the number

of boys enrolled has increased to 24 only. This may be due to the fact that more than 50% of the dropouts after class IV in the Primary School are girls and the reason for their dropping out according to the headmaster is housework and poverty. Since the girls are really keen to study they come to the Night School (8.00 p.m. to 9.30 p.m.) after the day's hard work, when the mothers are back home.

Religion: The people of the village Ara-lamallige are mainly Hindus. One or two Muslim families living in the village earlier have migrated and there is only one christian family in the village - that of the midwife.

Language: The languages spoken in the village are Kannada and Telugu. There are also one or two Tamil and Marathi speaking families.

Dress: The dress of the male adults of the village consists of shirt and banian for the upper garments and knicker and dhotis for the lower. The dress of females consists of saree and blouse. They wear saree in the ordinary style. Under garments like petticoat and bodice are becoming common among teenaged girls and young women of wellto do class. Women irrespective of caste or class generally prefer handloom cloth and mill made cloth. The dress of male children consists of shirt and knickers and the female children wear frocks and jumper made of mill cloth. The women wear ornaments like "vole" - earring, "Jumki" an ornament hanging from the "vole", "Anchina vole" - a kind of earring made of black wood, "Kalungara" -

facilities, but the nearest telegraph office and the public call office are at Doddaballapur town only. (f) Other Services:

The village has a Veterinary Centre, a Milk Producers Co-operative Society, a service co-operative society Ltd., and a Youth Club which cater to the various needs of the villagers. Besides it has a number of petty shops, tea stalls, small hotels and barber shops. Though no market is in the village, the nearest weekly market is at Doddaballapur which takes place every Thursday.

Development Indicators: The village Aralamallige is only 5 kms from Doddaballapur, which is a flourishing town noted for its silk weaving industry. Since the village is only a walking distance from Doddaballapur, with its industrial complex, one would expect the people of this village to have shared the prosperity of their urban brethren. But Aralamallige has remained mainly an agricultural village but with tremendous development potential. The village has an irrigation tank with tank bed area of 462.26 acres. Besides the tank, there are 46 Irrigation Wells out of which 40 are fitted with pumpsets. There are 22 drinking water wells and one bore well. The village is electrified and it is situated by the side of Doddaballapur Melamangala State road. It is therefore easily accessible.

(The Socio Economic Characteristics of the Sample House holds:) - Castewise Occupation and Employment Details.

Castewise Occupation and Employment Details

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Caste	No. of H. holds	No. of Persons		Cultiva- tion		Agricul. labour		Other labour		Live S.R.		Trade		Hotel keeping		House hold I.		Other Services		Study- ing		House hold		Bel- ievable age	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
ikkaliga	6	15	13	10	8																				
ngayats	4	12	12					1	-			4	2	-	2		1	-	5	1			5		2
uruba	3	9	6	1	-	2	2	2	-								-	1	3	-	-	1	1		
adas	3	9	5	2	2	1	2	2												3	1			1	
ikarnataka	3	10	6	-	-	2	3	1				-	1							4	1	1	1	1	
ihar	2	4	3				1	3				-	1				1	1		4	3	-	2	2	
ajantry	2	8	8					1																	
hi Dravida	2	5	6			3	3													1	1	1	2	1	-
opara	1	2	3			1	2																	1	-
anajiga	1	1	2			-	1	-	1																
jasaru	1	2	2			2	2										2	-	1	-	-	1			
rahmin	1	4	1					1	-											1				1	1
bovi	1	3	2			-	1	1	-																
Total	30	84	69	13	10	11	16	12	1			4	3		2		6	3	24	10	2	15	10	9	2

Caste Wise Education Details

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Caste	No. of House-hold	No. of Persons		Below S. age		Illiterate		Standards I to IV		Standards V to VII		VIII to SSLC		SSLC and above	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Vokkaliga	6	15	13	2	-	2	6	2	4	1	1	2	2	6	-
Lingayats	4	12	12	1	1	-	-	2	5	-	3	5	-	5	2
Kuruba	3	9	6	1	2	1	3	1	-	4	1	-	-	2	-
Bedas	3	9	5	1	-	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	-	1	-
Adi Karnataka	3	10	6	1	2	4	3	2	1	-	-	2	-	1	-
Achara	2	4	3	1	1	-	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Bhajantriy	2	8	8	2	2	-	2	1	3	2	1	1	-	2	-
Adi Dravida	2	5	6	-	-	4	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-
Uppara	1	2	3	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
Banajiga	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Agasaru	1	2	2			-	2			-	-	1	-	1	-
Brahmin	1	4	1			-	-			1	1	1	-	-	2

As can be seen from the first Table, Cultivation is carried on essentially by the members belonging to communities like Vokkaligas, Kurubas and Bedas, whereas agricultural labourers come from many castes like Kuruba, Beda, Adi Karnataka, Adi Dravida, Uppara, Banajiga and Agasaru. Agricultural labour in the village seems to be taken up more due to conditions of poverty than as an occupation followed by the caste. The women agricultural workers consist of unpaid family workers and agricultural labourers. The women who assist their husbands in the cultivation of family lands get no recognition for their labour; also the women who spend the whole day at home doing housework. In the sample households, there were more women agricultural labourers than men. Women seemed to be taking up agricultural labour in great number even though for the same back breaking toil it was learnt during the interview that they get only Rs. 3/- per day as against Rs. 5/- received by their counterparts. Though the Indian constitution provides for the elimination of discriminations in the pay of women, it is seen that pay discriminations have not been removed altogether. The wage Boards and the other wage fixing bodies set up under the Minimum Wages Act 1948 have been taking into account the equal pay principle while recommending wage scales. But differences in the wages of men and women still exist. Thus there continues to be substantial difference between the legal provisions and the actual practice. As far as other labour is concerned, women did not find the jobs suitable, and this is

only known job for them. Hence the majority of the women's decision to take up agricultural labour was but an inevitable one.

Except two women belonging to the Adi Dravida and Adi Karnataka communities, all the others said that the working conditions whether in the fields or in the shops were good. The complaint of the two lower caste women was the long working hours (from 9.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m.) with hardly any rest. Though the majority of my respondents said that the working conditions were good, on discreet enquires, it was reliably learnt that there were ten cases of lower caste women being molested in the village fields. No case of course seems to have been reported to the police allegedly due to the fear of the wrath of the members of the higher castes.

In 15 out of the 30 sample households, where both the husband and wife earned, the husband only had the entire control over the earnings of both. There were four cases where the wives had the safe custody of money earned by both. Strangely, the four cases related to the households of lower castes like Adi Dravida, Adi Karnataka, Agasaru and Bhajantriy. In one case of a Bhajantriy household, even when the husband only earned, the wife was incharge of his earnings. On the contrary in a Goldsmith household even though the woman only earned the entire livelihood of the family, the money was kept by the husband. During one of my interviews, a woman seemed surprised at my question and asked me, "Why should I keep the money when my husband is there?" In a majority of the households where the

women were interviewed (15 out of 25) the custom was for the man to decide what should be purchased for the house, and it was also he who purchased the household goods. In two households, the couple decided together regarding the purchase and in two cases, the couples went out together to purchase. In about 5 cases of lower caste households the women not only took the decision to buy, but they also went out to the market to purchase. Here, once again the lower caste women seemed to enjoy more freedom. In a Brahmin household also the woman took the decision to buy and she also executed her decision. This ofcourse seemed more an exception than the rule in view of the general trend of the replies of higher castes. Decision to borrow and the actual borrowing in the market was made essentially by the man of the house in 90% of the house holds. Only in a Adi Dravida household and a Bhajantry household both the man and the woman had credit in market. Exceptions to the earlier rule are households with no male members.

Decision regarding the marriage of children was invariably made by the husband and wife jointly. Love marriages and inter-caste marriages are totally spurned by the villagers. No contravention of the caste or tribal law has taken place amongst any communities covered under survey. Brahmin, Lingayat, Vokkali-ga, Bannajiga and Kuruba castes are known to give and take dowry in the present day. Originally only in Brahmin and Lingayat castes the dowry system was prevalent, but slowly, it is reported that the disease is fast spreading to the other communities as well. In Kuruba community even as early as 10 years back the

custom was for the bridegrooms to pay bride price "Terige". Only of late it is reported that the men of this community have started demanding dowry. The amount of dowry paid/received varied between Rs. 1,000/- to Rs. 20,000/- according to the financial conditions of the girl's parents. In all the communities under survey, the custom was for the girl's parents to pay the marriage expenses. Though the trend of fast spreading dowry system in the village is depressing, it was heartening to hear that there was no reported case of cruelty to the brides for bringing insufficient dowry. In certain castes like Bedas, Adi Karnatakas, Bajantris and Agasa divorce is permitted. Whereas the Aralamallige village has no case of Polyandry, there are half a dozen cases of Polygamy, which are not held in disfavour by the village community. The men here seem to seek a second wife, when the first wife is sick, or has not produced any children or has not produced any male children or when the man has some misunderstandings with her. In the village though officially no prostitutions is reported, it was learnt that in one of the hotels, prostitution was being carried on for the last 10 years. The girls available in the hotel ofcourse are reported to be from the neighbouring villages.

From my respondents it was learnt that decision regarding, whether to have the children or not and if so when to have them, and how many is made in a majority of cases, by the husbands (16 out of 30 cases) and in 12 out of 30 cases both the husband and wife decided the issue. In only two cases of lower caste

women, it was said that the decision was made by them. In 21 out of 30 cases, the husbands only decided the issue of sending or not sending the children to school.

It came to light during the survey that generally in all castes, it is the custom of the men only to have the property in their names. According to the Customary law which is still prevalent in the village only the sons inherit the property. This is one more instance where the women are in practice deprived of something that is legally theirs. In one or two cases where women held property in their name, it was found that they acquired it out of their own earnings or they acquired it after the death of their husbands.

As far as the participation in rituals is concerned it was gathered that essentially both the husband and wife participated in all the functions connected with birth, death or marriage. Ofcourse only women attended functions connected with a girl attaining puberty.

The temples in the village are open to both men and women of all castes, but the women of Adi Dravida and Adi Karnataka communities said that out of sheer respect they do not enter the temple premises but worship the God standing outside. It was gathered during the survey that apart from the local temples that the women visit quite often, once or twice a year, the whole family goes on a pilgrimage to the temple of the house god, which can be situated any where in the State. A strange custom in this regard was that a woman on marriage was expected to forget the housegod of her parent's house and start worshipping

her husband's housegod. Whereas the husbands of one or two women I interviewed did not even know the name of the wife's house god, it seemed a pity that a woman had to switch over gods on marriage as one would switch over a wearing apparel. What if equal rights are guaranteed in the constitution of India? The women of Aralamallige village in Karnataka State did not even enjoy the right to worship the God of their choice after marriage.

Most of the women interviewed expressed utter lack of time for pursuing hobbies and having recreations. The extent of social intercourse inside and outside the village also seemed restricted due to lack of time and financial limitations. Occasionally ofcourse some of them went with their husbands to the houses of relatives inside or outside the village. But not one of the women interviewed said that she visited a friend ^{of} ~~here~~ in a neighbouring village on her own. The women who were toiling in and outside the home in a majority of cases found no time what soever for recreation. A few exceptions to the general rule, who were financially better off listened to radio or visited the nearby town Doddaballapur for a movie once in a month or once in two months. Otherwise most of the women spent their limited spare time chatting with neighbours. The women of the Adi Dravida and Adi Karnataka communities seem to enjoy better privileges than their sisters of higher castes in that they were able to relax in the evenings drinking with their husbands - ofcourse only when they could find the money to spend on arrack and toddy.

Women of all the castes said that in case of necessity for advise they would go to their husbands, or relatives or neighbours. Three of the women interviewed said that they would go to the Chairman Village Panchayat in times of difficulties.

Of the thirty women interviewed only 10 said that their husbands have the habit of beating them occasionally. A few others accepted that their husbands smoked or drank country liquor but said that they have never been beaten. All the women said that their relatives were treated with the same kind of respect and affection with which the husbands treated their own relatives. It was very obvious that the women were not free and frank in their replies. One reason may be the natural reserve of a south Indian woman to talk ill of her husband in front of strangers. The familiar face of the interpreter accompanying me could have been another inhibiting factor. It was reliably learnt that wife beating was quite common in the village among all the castes and the reasons could be simply anything. A Kuruba woman said that her husband had beaten her on certain occasions when the food was not prepared in time by her. When she was questioned as to why she could not cook the food in time for her husband who came back home tired after a hard day's work, prompt came the reply that she had also gone to the fields to work during the day. It is heart rending that the women who have to go out of the house to share the man's burden of providing for the family, should continue to shoulder the entire burden of the household work, unaided and in many cases unsympathised too!

Regarding the ritual of eating 28% my respondents said that the men at first, the children ate next and they themselves ate the left overs after all others had finished. One of the two exceptions is a Adi Dravida family and the other, a Vokkaliga household where the widowed mother is the head of the household. In these two families it was gathered that everyone sat together for the meal. Irrespective of the fact whether the woman contributed to the income of the household or not and whether hers was the only earnings of the household, her position was the last, as far as the ritual of eating was concerned. A few of them also admitted that there have been occasions when they have had nothing left over to eat.

As far as the treatment of children is concerned, 29 out of the thirty women said that they treated both their boys and girls alike and equally shared the food and other goodies between them. Only one Adi Dravida woman said that she gave more to the boys than to the girls because, the girls were after all meant to go to some one else's house, sooner or later.

Though most of the castes in the village were non-vegetarians eating meat was restricted to only once in a month or once in two months. In some households meat was cooked only once in 6 months due to sheer poverty. Due to lack of rains in the village for years and the bad economic conditions prevailing in the village, generally, milk, vegetables, fruits etc. are rare in many of the households. Only "Ragi muth the" ____ ragi balls and "Saru" or "huli" ____ a curry made with pulses seem to be common in the households of this village. As a result the

villagers do look emaciated and anaemic without proper and nutritional food.

The Mahilla Mandal in this village had closed down in 1973. Hence only four out of my respondents said that they had participated in the various activities of the Mahila Mandal. Three of them had learnt tailoring from the Mandal, and were now eking out a livelihood for themselves. Nine of the women expressed keen desire to join the Mahila Mandal if it could be revived in the village. The rest of my respondents were too busy earning two square meals a day for themselves and their family that they hardly showed any interest in the Mahila Mandal or its activities. None of the women interviewed by me except Anumakka the member of the village Panchayat or Rudramma the convenor of churcha Mandal showed any interest in leadership. Though Anumakka has been a member of the Village Panchayat for 10 years, she said that it was more out of other's insistence that she became the member of the Village Panchayat. This lady inspite of her modesty seems to be taking lead in many women's activities. She also seems to be a good Samaritan in that she is reported to be helping villagers to get old age pension etc. by taking them to the B.D.O.'s Office in Doddaballapur. The enterprising 70 year old Rudramma, who has been the convenor of the Churcha Mandal since six years evinced great interest in the welfare of the women of her village. During the interview she pointed out how inspite of various inconveniences and expenses from out of her own pocket, she has been trying to educate the women of her village in better methods of cultivation, dairy farming, sheep rearing, poultry farming etc.

Apart from the initiative and leadership shown by women like Anumakka and Rudramma, the Government has also been striving to uplift the condition of the women in this village. According to the Mukya Sevika Vimla Ratna the various developmental activities of the Government are (1) formation of Mahila Mandal (2) formation of Sishu Vihar, (3) Conducting baby show once a year (4) Conducting ladies adult education classes (5) conducting tailoring classes, (6) organising family planning motivation programmes (7) National Savings Scheme Programmes (8) Conducting cooking demonstration classes and (9) giving vocational training for women. The Mahila Mandal and the Sishu Vihar (Balavadi) which are defunct in the village it is reported would be revived soon. A few of the government developmental activities are a great success in the village. The Night School for children is an example where 30 of the girls enrolled regularly attend the school at such late hours as 8.00 p.m. to 9.30 p.m. ^{despite the} fact that the girls themselves have been employed in some work or the other throughout the day. The Churha Mandal has also been functioning quite efficiently in the village down the years. The family planning programmes, of the Government conducted in the village seem so effective that 36.63% of the eligible couples in the village are family planning acceptors. (As per the data of eligibility status of couples (1980) reflected in the Primary Health Centre Aralamallige village).

While on the one side the government and some enlightened women of the village strive to educate the women and improve their

lot in life, some women themselves seem to be putting a check on the progressive tendencies. The two women centenarians whom I had the good fortune of interviewing felt out raged at the idea of the women of today going out of their homes for education or job or for anything else. Once a woman left the portals of her house, she lost her respect in society according to them. Since going out meant mixing with boys and members of other castes, they felt that it should not be done. The words "love marriage" or "intercaste marriage" fell like poison in their ears. According to them God made the Castes and ~~and~~ fore fathers followed them. Hence it is a sin to break the rules of caste. One of the centenarians objected to the girls going out of the village to study, whereas the other objected to the girls stepping out of even their homes to study. "I was never educated. Nothing has happened to me" - was the woman's triumphant assertion! Both the women had been married at an early age (12 years and 14 years) and they had borne for their lord and masters nearly a dozen children. They had never stepped out of their house, never seen a bus, never seen a hotel, or a hospital never seen a cinema and never spoke to even their own husbands in front of others, but were extremely happy with their sheltered lives. Both of them say that it is with great restraint that they do not check the women of the younger generation in the interest of family harmony.

My other respondents by and large had no such radical views. But they had one similarity with the centenarians.

In spite of their miserable lot in life all my respondents considered their status in life as satisfactory and good. Some were even tempted to say "Very Good"! Not a single one of them considered her status in life as unsatisfactory! Surprisingly many of them inspite of acute poverty expressed contentment in life. The few who were discontented with life had material aspirations which were not fulfilled due to their poor economic conditions. These women would be a lot more happy, if only they had the three basic amenities of life. Right now their status in life vis-a-vis their men did not agitate even one of my respondents. They address their husbands as "ejmanru" meaning the lord and master, give him all the decision making powers and confine^{to}/themselves only the worries of feeding and clothing their family.

Conclusion: By and large the women of the village Aralamallige are a simple lot. Their status in life is nothing much to boast about, but in their humdrum life, where everyday is a painful struggle, they are least bothered about it. They have accepted their miserable lot with fortitude and if at all, the blame is only bundled off to the Creator! A century ago, these women would have been far more happy for they had clearly defined duties within the four walls of their homes. The village women of today have been forced to step out of their sheltered homes to meet the man's insufficiency in providing for his family. But it is the man's prerogative still to kick her if there was a slight delay in cooking! The fruits of her toil are shared by

her man without the least hesitations but he can not as yet dream of sitting down with her to share the food. She still ^{to} has/hang around for the left overs in the name of age old custom. In despair one can turn to his or her favourite God for solace, but in the case of the woman of Aralamallige, even a God is thrust on them on marriage. So where could the woman turn for comfort? Well one could go on endlessly on the plight of these less fortunate rural women, but

If Winter comes
can Spring be far behind"?

A ray of hope for these women now is in the increasing literacy rate and the fast spreading popularity of family planning methods in the village. One only prays for an early dawn of better days for these simple village women!

On the part of the government, accelerated efforts should be made to make these women aware of their potentials and help wherever necessary should be given in plenty to develop their inherent talents. The medical care of the village, especially that of the women and children which is very poor now should be improved. More vocational trainings should be organised for the women of this village to make them economically self-sufficient. Institutions like Mahila Mandal, Sishu Vihar and Churcha Mandal should be activated to serve the needs of the women more purposefully. Finally the government should adopt firm and effective measures to ensure that what is accorded to the women by the constitution and the laws is in fact made available to them in reality. Only then can the status of women be improved, not only in the Aralamallige village but in our country at large!

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VILLAGE STUDY REPORT

Subject : **STATUS OF WOMEN**

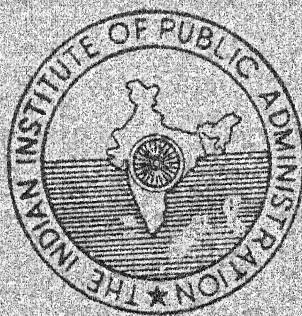
A study of Eklingspura and Kaladwas Villages

Block : Girwa

District : Udaipur, Rajasthan

R. VIJAYALAKSHMI

Roll No. 633



Sixth Advanced Professional Programme in Public Administration

Indian Institute of Public Administration

Indraprastha Estate

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New Delhi-110002

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INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI

Sixth Advanced Professional Programme in Public Administration

VILLAGE STUDY

As a part of the above programme, a team of seven members, with Dr. B.M. Varma of the IIPA as Supervisor, conducted a socio-economic study of two villages - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - in the Girwa Block of Udaipur District in Rajasthan for two weeks from December 1, 1980. The members of the team and the subjects of their study are given below:-

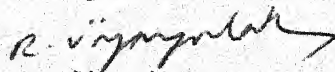
<u>Name</u>	<u>Subjects</u>
1. Shri P.K. Bagchi	Pattern of indebtedness and bondage.
2. Shri P.U.C. Chowdary	Inter-Caste relations.
3. Shri L.R. Julka	Condition of agricultural labour.
4. Shri D.C. Mishra	Perception of development & change.
5. Shri V.K. Seth	Consumption Pattern.
6. Shri M.P. Vasudeva	Cropping and input use pattern.
7. Miss R. Vijayalakshmi	Status of women.

The broad framework of the report is as under:-

- Part-I. Carries a brief description of Udaipur District, the Girwa Block and the two villages of Eklingpura and Kaladwas. It also explains the reasons for selection of these two villages for the above study. This portion has been prepared jointly by the study team from the information collected, as well as that supplied by the District Administration.
- Part-II Gives a general introduction of the specific subject of study, the objectives and the methodology followed.
- Part-III Presents an analysis of the data collected and the conclusions of the member concerned.
- Part-IV Contains supporting annexures.

The members of the study team are grateful to the officials of the District Administration of Udaipur, who extended the necessary assistance and co-operation in all possible manner to enable the team to conduct a meaningful study. The members also place on record their deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Varma, who, besides being a source of inspiration, rendered valuable guidance all through.

New Delhi
December 20, 1980.


Signature.

C O N T E N T S

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* Social status in the community	
* Economic status in the community	
* Role in political and social institutions	
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PART I
PROFILE OF THE DISTRICT, FLOCK AND THE VILLAGES

Hallowed by the heroic battles fought by Maharana Pratap against Akbar's mighty Mughal forces, Mewar, the Kingdom of Sisodia Rajputs, occupies a unique place in the Indian History. Udaipur, founded in the year 1567 by Maharana Udai Singh, was the last of the capitals of the State of Mewar.

Thoughts of the desert seem a mirage in the serene coolness of the lake-borne city of Udaipur. Cupped with soft-green hills, the opiate beauty of this city is like a joyous miracle in the dusty, wind-blown heat of Rajasthan. Still evoking the rich sensibilities of a royal lineage, long gone by, the dreamy city of Udaipur is unique in its elusive, feminine quality amongst the masculine citadels of Rajasthan. Shimmering and twinkling, the lakes of Pichola, Fatch Sagar, Swaroop Sagar and Udai Sagar give the city its haunting beauty.

Historically famous *and* culturally rich *and sanctarily colorful* the present district of Udaipur abounds with a number of interesting places. Haldighati, where a valiant battle was fought by Rana Pratap, riding his gallant horse, Chetak, is in this district. Nathdwara, where the great temple of Srinathji enshrines a unique monolithic black-stone image of Sri Krishna, is only fortyeight kilometres north of Udaipur. The Eklingji temple, on the shores of a lake, houses the presiding deity of the Ranas of Mewar.

Situated around 75° longitude and 24° latitude, in the South-western part of Rajasthan, Udaipur district is dotted with green, lofty and minerally rich Aravalli ranges. Endowed with a temperate and healthy climate, the district has seventeen tehsils, divided into eighteen blocks.

The district is predominantly rural, with 3,116 villages and 92 per cent of the population living in villages. The ancient tribe of Bhils, also known as Gamethis, whose close association with the Ranas of Mewar was symbolised in the emblem of that State, constitute a sizable one-third of the population of the district. Latest estimates put the total population of the district at 2.4 million.

Agriculture forms the backbone of the district with two-thirds of the population making a living out of it. Due to the hilly terrain, the area is rocky and uneven, with very low water table. The rainfall is also scanty, averaging around 630 mms. The rural economy, which has to sustain itself through agriculture, is adversely affected by the vagaries of nature. The rainfall is often quite untimely and erratic. The district is also drought-prone and has been famine-stricken for the last four years continuously, causing damage to the economic equilibrium.

The farmers in the district have to put forth more than average efforts to eke out a living. Man-made distortions and fragmentation of land have also contributed to the situation. The district, with predominantly small land holdings, has a total area of two million hectares of which only 18 per cent is cultivated. The area under more than one crop constitutes only 43 per cent of the cultivated area. Nearly three-fourths of the holdings are under three hectares, while holdings below one hectare account for half of the cultivated area.

The principal crop is maize, which is evident from the famous slogan in the area - "Gehoon Chodna Makki Khana, Mewar Chodkar Kahin na Jana". Other important crops are wheat, barley, gram and pulses. Foodgrains account for 85 per cent and Oil-seeds for 8 per cent of the total area under cultivation.

The district has been declared by the Government as an industrially-backward area. However, a few large and medium scale industries have sprung up in and around Udaipur city. These include the Hindustan Zinc Limited, J&K Tyres Ltd., Pesticides India Ltd., Udaipur Cotton Mills, etc. While there are 731 units in the small-scale sector, cottage and household industries number about 11,500. The employment potential of these industrial units works out to a meagre 6 per cent of the total work force available in the district.

The Block:

The Girwa Panchayat Samiti is contiguous to Udaipur City. The

Samiti consists of 161 villages and 35 Gram Panchayats. The population of the Samiti is 2.34 lakhs out of which 56,000 belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Out of a total area of 1.31 lakh hectares, only 0.25 lakh hectares are cultivable. The land holdings are also small with 85 per cent of the total holdings being under three hectares.

The Samiti is thus fairly representative of the district with regard to the occupational patterns, area under cultivation, land holdings, distribution of population, etc.

The Villages under Focus:

Two adjacent villages, Eklingpura and Kaladwas, along with a third village Manwakhera, form part of the Gram Panchayat of Kaladwas. The two villages selected for study - Eklingpura and Kaladwas - are about a kilometre apart from each other and lie on the Udaipur-Jhampur Kotra Road and are about seven and ten kilometres respectively from the district headquarters of Udaipur.

Both these villages were established around 1450 AD. The Bhils, who were natives of the area, were displaced by the Dangis, the farmers' community. Originally known as Rohiad Pura, the village Eklingpura obtained its name during the reign of Maharaja Bhupal Singh of Mewar State. Eklingji, as already mentioned, is the presiding deity of the State of Mewar. There is an old Shiva temple in the village, in a cave, which is the oldest structure in the area. 'Poornima Mela', a village fair, is held on every full-moon day.

These villages had the distinction of having received a foreign dignitary, when Mr. Malcolm Fraser, the Australian Prime Minister, visited them in January 1979. This historic visit has been commemorated by naming the road leading to Eklingpura as 'Fraser Lane'. Para

Parakakhet is a hamlet of Kaladwas, wherein live the Scheduled Tribe, the Bhils or Gamethis. It is two-and-a-half kilometres from the main village.

WHY THESE TWO VILLAGES WERE SELECTED FOR STUDY ?

The selection of these two villages for the purpose of this study was made on the basis of accessibility, exposure to various development programmes and proximity with block and district headquarters. These villages are also representative villages of the district with regard to rainfall, proportion of irrigated land and

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE VILLAGES

The following are the salient features of the villages under study:

<u>Population:</u>	<u>Kaladwas</u>	<u>Eklingsura</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male	719	416	1135
Female	669	357	1026
Total:	1388	773	2161
Scheduled Castes	116	43	159
Scheduled Tribes	433	112	545
<u>Households:</u>			
a) Kaccha	300	105	405
b) Pakka	45	54	99
Total:	345	159	504
<u>Literacy:</u>			
Number of literates	351	271	622
Number of Illiterates	1037	502	1539
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Occupations:</u>			
Number of workers	416	259	675
Number of non-workers.	972	514	1486
Total:	1388	773	2161
<u>Workers:</u>			
Cultivation	261	177	438
Household industries	10	4	14
Manufacturing	40	9	49
Construction	25	11	36
Agricultural Labourers	9	10	19
Trade & Commerce	7	4	11
Mining	11	5	16
Others	53	39	92
Total:	416	259	675
<u>Area: (in acres)</u>			
a) Geographical Area	2090	1823	3913
b) Area under cultivation	780	724	1504
i) Area irrigated	477	359	836
ii) Area unirrigated	303	365	668
Total:	780	724	1504
No. of wells with electric pump-sets	51	35	86
No. of tractors in the village	-	1	1

* According to 1971 Census.

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Crops: (in acres)

	<u>Kaladwas</u>	<u>Eklingspura</u>	<u>Total</u>
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a) Kharif

Maize	359	309	668
Sugarcane	38	23	61
Vegetables	13	18	31
Other Crops	59	25	84
Total:	469	375	844

b) Rabi

Wheat	164	201	365
Barley	86	80	166
Gram	30	39	69
Vegetables	4	8	12
Fodder	27	21	48
Total:	311	349	660

Land-holdings:

Less than 2.5 acres	231	72	303
2.5 to 5 acres	57	50	107
5.1 to 7.5 acres	30	16	46
7.6 to 10.0 acres	10	10	20
Above 10 acres	17	11	28
Total:	345	159	504

Other Details:

Schools:

No. of primary schools	1	1	2
No. of middle schools	1	-	1

Students:

No. of boys	208	75	283
No. of girls	20	21	41
Total:	228	96	324

Post Office	1	-	1
Sub-centre of Health	1	-	1

Distance from District Headquarters	10 Km	7 Km	
Distance from Block Headquarters	10 Km	5 Km	
Distance from Railway Station	5 Km	6 Km	

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PART - II

Introduction, objectives and methodology:

Status is a composite concept which indicates the position of an individual or a group in terms of several values in society, as perceived by others. These values may be in terms of individual and social consciousness or in terms of some objective criteria as in the case of income group. The 'Status of Women' thus involves a study of the interplay of different roles which they are expected to perform, and the roles which they actually play in the family, community and society.

While the status of women constitutes a problem in almost all societies and has today emerged as a fundamental crisis in human development, there are quite a few complicating factors which add to the magnitude of the problem in the Indian rural society. They are discussed below.

Rights and Obligations:

Socially accepted rights and expected roles of women, norms governing their behaviour and of others towards them vary among different groups and regions. The inequalities inherent in our traditional social structure based on caste, community and class have thus a very significant influence on the status of women.

Impact of Social Change:

The complex socio-economic process and political change denoted by broad terms like modernisation, democratisation, development, urbanization etc. have all affected the status of women in differing degrees. If the transformation is towards more egalitarian distribution of roles between men and women, then the change is a wholesome one. But here again we are confronted with a confusing situation. The process of emulation of the traditional values of the upper classes or the process of 'sanskritization' on the one hand and the process of 'debrahminisation' or 'modernization' by the upper classes on the other hand, give rise to certain ambiguities and confusion, which need careful analysis and treatment.

Impact of Social Legislation:

Instruments of social change engineered by the government in the spheres of social life, have also influenced and affected the status of women. The reforms in personal laws governing marriage and inheritance, the labour laws ensuring human conditions of work, maternity benefits and welfare works and social laws seeking the protection of women and children against immoral traffic and exploitation tried to remove the disabilities that contributed to the low status of women in our society. Positive action in the sphere of education, vocational training, health services, family planning, welfare and development programmes sought to change and improve the conditions of living and mental horizons of women.

Change in attitudes:

While institutional changes may be introduced by the authoritative agency, changing the attitudes is a long and arduous process. It is largely because of the absence of attitudinal support that the reforms to bring about improvement in the status of women through the introduction of new institutions or the remoulding of older ones, have failed to make any definite impact. It is important to delineate the attitude and opinions regarding the perceived disabilities and status of women.

Keeping the above factors in view, an attempt has been made in the present study to draw a realistic picture of the status of women in the rural society of the former princely state of Mewar in the villages of Eklingpura and Kaladwas of Girwa Panchayat Samiti of Udaipur District.

Objectives:

The objective of the study is to explore the actual position of women in the family, community and society with particular reference to their socio-economic status. An endeavour has been made to gauge the nature and magnitude of the problem with the explicit view to assess the expected and actual

role behavioural pattern of women in various walks of life as also to ascertain the changes or transformation that have taken place and the factors responsible therefor in the traditional, colourful Rajasthani society since independence.

Area of enquiry: The study thus covers the following areas of enquiry to get a realistic picture of the situation prevalent in the existing rural set-up.

- a) Role of women in the family - What is their role in relation to the performance of tasks and decision making process?
- b) Position of women in the family - What is the reaction of the members of family to the birth of a daughter? Do they mete out differential treatment to the girls while allocating family resources for food, clothes, education, medical care etc.? Do women suffer from any restrictive practices such as purdah?
- c) Social status of women in the community - What is the age of marriage of girls, the process of mate-selection, the nature of rituals and customs observed with special reference to the system of dowry? What are the means available for settling marital dishormany and disputes, if any? What is the plight of widows?
- d) Economic status of women in the community - What is the nature and extent of women's consciousness about their economic status? Are they considered economic assets or liabilities? What sort of control, if any, is exercised by women over family's financial resources? What is their awareness and reality of the rights of inheritance?
- e) Role of women in political and social institutions - What is their perceived role in politics, their attitude thereof and the nature and extent of participation in political process(voting) and political and social institutions?(Village Panchayat and Mahila Mandals).

Methodology:

We visited these two villages for more than a week, spending considerable time in acquainting with the area and the people. For conducting this study, the methods of survey research were adopted. The main tools of research were interviews, case studies, observations and discussions, apart from study of documents

and official records. For interview purposes, a sample schedule or guide was prepared well in advance, and necessary information was collected from the respondents, officials and non-officials. Small group discussions in general and exchange of information in particular among the members of the team proved to be very useful in the final analysis of data and report writing. For illustrative purpose, a large number of photographs were taken. No language difficulty was experienced and a good deal of rapport was established with respondents in a very short time. A final round of discussions was also held with the officials and non-officials. In addition, some voluntary organizations, involved in the village development work were also contacted. Participation in the seminar on 'Rural development organized by Seva Mandir, Udaipur on December 6, 1980, also proved useful in formulating our thoughts.

Sampling:

In order to study the status of women in the villages selected, about 36 persons were interviewed with the help of a questionnaire. (~~see Annexure A~~). While selecting samples at random, care has been taken to ensure proper representation for different castes both with regard to number of households and population, age differences and the economic status as represented by land holdings. There were no non-Hindu population. Importance was also given to the opinions and attitudes of the males by including them in the samples selected. Final analysis is made with reference to thirty samples only to make the study truly representative.

Field work and data collection:

Besides the survey research method, case studies and personal observations constituted the field work. Data collected through interview were supplemented and cross-checked with the village, block and district officials as also by perusal of records, wherever relevant.

The lady nutrition extension officer, Miss Krishna Tewari, who had recently joined the post initially accompanied the writer in her field visits. She was of great help in establishing immediate rapport with the illiterates rural women. Smt. Modi Bhai and Smt. Chunni Bhai, the nominated members of the panchayat, were highly co-operative and aided in the completion of the task.

In view of the practice of 'Goonghat' which was observed in the villages, the interviews could be recorded in the individual households only, trekking quite a distance in the narrow, dusty undulated lanes of the villages. Some of the dangi women's answers could be recorded only in their fields amidst their work, standing right through. While by and large, women responded, there were a few occasions, when the writer had to face cold respondents, arising mostly out of fear. Sufficient care was taken to explain the purpose of the study before starting the interview, which proved useful in getting fairly frank and satisfactory replies.

The role of voluntary organizations with particular reference to literacy was also studied. Seva Mandir, a social organization run with Canadian assistance, is doing useful work in this area. The writer benefitted by the exchange of views on the subject with Smt. Shoba Nandwana, senior unit worker in charge of women's development.

The rich experience acquired during the brief but memorable stay was a rewarding one from the stand point of delineating the general pattern of the status of womenfolk in the two villages of the traditional Rajasthani society.

PART-III

Data Analysis

Analysis of the respondents:

Out of thirty respondents, the representation for different castes was ensured by selecting the samples as under: Dangis: 7, Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes (Gametis, Salvis, Meghwal and Bhagriyas): 10, Brahmings and other high castes (Rajputs, veragis etc.): 4, other castes: (Lohar, Kumhar, Suthar, Gadri etc.): 9. Surprisingly, the Bhil tribe of Gametis, did not differ significantly from the other castes and a lot of acculturation has taken place. In view of this fact, no separate analysis of the status of Bhil women was called for.

The view of different cross sections of the society were considered essential to bridge the generation gaps, if any. The age wise break up of the respondent is as below. Above 50 = 5
Between 30 and 50 = 12 Between 20 and 30 = 11 Below 20 = 2.

Proper distribution economic status wise, was also ensured as revealed from the following:

<u>Land holding</u>	<u>No.</u>
Landless	2
under 1 Bhiga	2
1-2 Bhigas	9
3-5 Bhigas	7
6-7 Bhigas	4
Other occupations	6
	<u>30</u>

To have a reasonable understanding of the male point of view, general discussions were held with a number of people. There were also three male respondents in the sample.

Analysis of the response:

Data collected has been analysed under the following five relevant headings.

- I. Role in the family;
- II. Position in the family;
- III. Social Status in the Community;

- IV. Economic Status in the Community;
- V. Role in political and Social Institutions.

I. Role in the family:

The definition, expectation and reality of the role to be performed by women in the family will largely determine the status of women in the society. In fact, the concept of women's role in the family will shape the attitude towards female education also. The training which the family imparts to the daughters with reference to the role which they are expected to play will make or mar the status of women.

Invariably the drudgery of household work is associated with women and men consider it beneath their dignity to perform domestic chores. The inherent superiority complex and ego of males, pampered to a greater extent by the traditional beliefs and attitudes of women themselves, had led to a situation where women are either mute viewers or in rare occasions, destined to play only a second fiddle in areas of significance. Thus it is considered essential to probe into this area, to highlight the extent of liberation, if any.

In an agro-based rural economy, where even nature has been unkind in its blessings of fertility, water-table, rain fall etc., it is a common spectacle to witness the entire family toiling hard in the fields to eke out a living. The two villages under study are also no exception to the rule. The women folk after attending to the daily morning routine such as milking the cattle, cleaning, sweeping etc. go to the fields to help the male members while the young girls or daughters-in-law, fetch wood and bring water(see picture-1).

After a day-long toil and with sun-tanned skin, women come back only to pick-up the threads of household work again. It was observed that irrespective of the castes, women folk had a substantial share in the field-work and complete burden of the drudgery of household work. In fact, a lot of difficulty was experienced in recording the views of women in general and dangi

women in particular as they were not available during the day and busy with their household work in the night.

This being the reality what are their views regarding the expected role of women? By and large they felt, that the daughters are to be married off early, they should be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' and their place is in the house only. Both male as well as female respondents replied that women are expected to look after the house, their younger brothers and sisters and to be self-sacrificing and self-effacing. The sarpanch, with whom the subject was discussed, expressed the view that kitchen is the domain of women and any man committing trespass would be considered a 'gulam' or slave'. In other words the society treats such acts with deision. The reality and the expectation neatly tallied and the writer had occasions to see small girls burdened with household work. There was also a case in which a Brahmin girl had to drop out from school after second standard or so to take charge of the house, when her mother fell ill.

Having observed that the entire share of household work fell on the female members of the family, the focus of attention was directed towards their role in decision-making, both routine and significant. This was sought to be analysed by the answers given by the respondents to the following questions:-

- i) Who decides what to buy, when to buy and what quantity to buy and who buys normally after a decision to buy something has been taken?
- ii) Who decided that marriages, should take place, when and with whom?
- iii) Who decided about the schooling of children?
- iv) Where would they go for advice/consultation in times of necessity?

The response received is tabulated as under:-

Table No.1

Decision making in domestic affairs

Question No.	Husband/males	Wife/females	Both
i)	23	3	4
ii)	14	2	14
iii)	20	2	8

It appears that even routine decisions like purchasing things for the household are not made by the womenfolk. It should however be mentioned that, when further asked as to whether they did not decide the quantity and the item needed, a sizeable number(15) of them admitted that they did. Regarding marriage also, while initial reaction gave the decision making power to male members, some of them when specifically encountered as to whether they can stop the marriage, if they had some reservations, they replied in the affirmative and hence had to be brought under the category 'both'.

Regarding question (iv), barring four or five respondents, who decided on their own, ^{male} all others sought advice from the husband or other elder/members of the native or husband's family or the elders of the village such as Sarpanch.

The study thus reveals that the role of women in the family is subsidiary or secondary and not on an equal footing.

II. Position in the family

Treatment in the family:

Atharva Veda(VI-2-3) has this to say:

'The birth of a girl, grant it elsewhere, here grant a boy'. The most important ritual in the series of rituals connected with Hindu marriage is the seven steps or 'Saptapadi'. The last incantation as the man leads his bride around the sacrificial fire spells out woman's place in the scheme of

things. The words are: 'Be thou my life mate Thus do thou go with me forever and forever. Let us thus acquire many many sons'. 'Put' means hell in Sanskrit and this is literally the meaning of 'putra', as it is believed that a man without a son ends in hell.

In this background of traditional beliefs, how do they view the birth of a girl and how do they treat her. To find out this the following questions were asked.

- i) If you were to have only one child, would you prefer a boy or girl?
- ii) Is there any difference in treatment regarding food, clothing, medical care etc. between boys and girls?

The analysis of the answers show the following:-

Table No. 2

Position of women in the family

Response	Respondents
<u>Choice regarding the child</u>	
Boy	20
Girl	2
Neutral	8
	<u>30</u>
<u>Preferential Treatment</u>	
Boy	-
Girl	-
None	30
	<u>30</u>

It is clear that nearly two-thirds of the respondents would prefer a boy given the choice. They ^{also} considered it nice to have sons. Even among the balance, positive reaction to the birth of a daughter has come from only two respondents. The 'no preference' category largely consisted of the scheduled tribe community of Gametis (six in number) among whom a system of bride-price is prevalent and which might have been a contributory factor for the neutral attitude.

Their attitude towards family planning also depended upon the birth of a boy. There was a specific instance of a Gameti woman, who even after seven daughters, did not show any inclination for family planning, since she wanted to have a boy. In another case, a Salvi woman expressed the view that she would have resorted to family planning, if she had been blessed with a boy early. She had four daughters and a son.

Having arrived in such a hostile atmosphere, one would naturally expect the girls to face a differential treatment with regard to food, clothing, medical care etc. Surprisingly, all the respondents reacted strongly saying that what little was available would be shared equally and there was no question of preferential treatment to boys. The writer had however no opportunity to verify whether this was the reality or only pious and noble sentiments expressed by the respondents. Even if the practice is different, it is a welcome sign to note that at least outwardly, they do not profess such a doctrine, which itself is a significant departure from the traditional concepts and beliefs about the superiority of males.

Women and Education:

Education is the chief motive power which brings about changes in the attitudes, beliefs and values of the society. It is essential not only for the development of human potential but also for economic independence. Hence the attitude in this regard is considered vital. To find out this, they were asked whether they had educated the girls and if not why.

Out of thirty respondents only five had given some education upto primary level while the rest of them had not sent the daughters to school at all. In other words, none of these girls had been to school even to 'take shelter against the rain', as the Tamil saying goes. Thus the obvious discrimination comes to light. It is not that they are against education as such, since most of them felt that it would be good to educate

the girls. When interrogated further as to why they did not educate their girls, then came the following stock replies.

- It is not customary to educate girls.
- The girls had to assist the parents in the house-hold and field work.
- The girls are not inclined to study and
- The poor financial conditions do not permit them to send the girls to school.

The detailed figures of the extent of literacy among women could not be gathered officially. However, during a conversation, the Sarpanch of Eklingspura village revealed that the position in that village would be as under:-

Table No. 3

Position of female literacy in Eklingspura

Age	No. of women/girls educated
Above 40	2
Between 15 and 40	4
Under 15 (in school)	21
Total educated women	27
Total female population	357
Percentage of female literacy	7.5

This figure does not compare favourably with the all India average of 21.9%, as at the end of decade 61-71. It is significant to note in this connection that the percentage increase recorded in female literacy in the decade 1961-71, in Rajasthan is the second lowest after Bihar, the figures for both the States being 3.05 and 2.07 respectively*. Thus the general level of female literacy is abysmally low, causing concern.

* Source: Indian Express, 15th December 1980, page-5, column-1.

A detailed analysis regarding the factual position of school going children has been made. The following table gives the actual strength of boys and girls in the schools at Parakhet, Eklingpura and Kaladwas.

Table No. 4

Number of School going children

	Nursery		I&II Combi- bed		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Parakhet (1979-1)			36	3	3	-											39	3
Eklinga- pura (1970-2)			49	12	6	4	14	2	6	3							75	21
Kaladwas (1952-8)	38	6	17	3	13	2	12	4	14	-	33	-	22	1	20	1	169	17
Total																	283	41

(Figures in brackets indicate the year of opening and the number of teachers). B = Boys G = Girls

The ratio of school going boys and girls works out to 7:1 if we take the combined total for all classes from Nursery to VIII Standard. If standards VI to VIII only are taken into account, then the ratio is 38:1. This reveals that drop-out rates for girls are higher at the middle school level. The sex ratio of the villages selected being almost 1:1, the figures definitely reveal the picture that girls are not meant to be educated.

This startling revelation prompted me to find out, the role of voluntary organizations in this sphere and Seva Mandir, a social development organization run with Canadian assistance, was contacted. The organization was running 261

centres under National Adult Education Programme in Badgaon and Girwa. Of these 261 centres run during the year 1979, there were only 25 centres catering to women and there are about 140 mixed centres. The senior unit worker in charge of women's development Smt. Shoba Nandwana indicated that though these centres normally start with a strength of 30, later on the attendance drops down to 15 or so. She also mentioned that exclusive women centres are mostly in high caste areas while scheduled tribe areas have mixed centres. She pointed out that dangis were prepared to send their daughters-both-married and unmarried- and not their daughters-in-law. When specifically questioned about the need to educate adults when majority of young girls are not attending schools, she replied that the approach was to orient the elders towards education so that the culture can spread. She also said that to solve this issue, there is flexibility regarding age limit for admission into the centres so far as women are concerned. While adult education centres will not admit any male below 15 years, the girls in the age group 12-13 are also admitted into the centres.

The organization had run a centre at Eklingpura village with the help of the present Panchayat member Smt. Modi Bhai during 1978-79. She could not however take up the assignment during 1979-80 due to her illness and now efforts are again made to run the centre. Smt. Modi Bhai, who showed tremendous sense of keenness and enthusiasm, expressed the view that she may start the unit again.

Restrictive Practices:

In Indian society normally women are subjected to restrictive practices such as 'purdah', thus making them unequal with men. To ascertain this aspect, they were asked the following questions:-

Do they observe purdah (Goonghat Nikalna) and if so before whom and when?

Do they consider the system good?

The respondents unanimously replied that they do observe purdah before the in-laws, elders in the village and also outsiders. Even if they come to a city like Udaipur, some of them said that they would observe purdah, if they come across any villager. Barring one or two young girls, all of them felt that the age-old custom and tradition are good and should be kept up. When specifically asked could they not break it, the reply was that it would be difficult in a small hamlet like that. Even the two lady members of Kaladwas panchayat as well as Sarpanch expressed similar sentiments and sought to justify the system as one arising out^{of} respect for elders which is ingrained in our culture.

It was found that except five respondents, all others followed the age-old practice of taking meals after male members. They were also reluctant to give out the names of their husbands and when pressed four or five ladies shot back, "Why not, he is not an enemy", and mentioned the names. While personally I consider these as fringe issues which do not really touch the actual magnitude of the problem regarding the status of women, their existence along side wide-spread illiteracy, is a matter to be taken note of.

III. Social Status in the Community:

Marriage is an important aspect of a woman's life and the nature and extent of her status in the society will hinge upon the practices adopted in this regard.

a) Age of marriage: One of the major social evils which was sought to be curbed by legislation is child marriage. Child marriage restraint Act, 1929, popularly known as Sarda Act as amended, stipulates that the minimum age of marriage for males is 18 years and that of girls is 15 years. Perhaps realising that the legislation itself is not sufficient to fight these deep-rooted prejudices and practices, the enactment did not affect the validity of the marriage. Only the practice was made a penal offence, parents guardians etc. being liable for

imprisonment for 3 months. In other words, the idea is not to invalidate child marriages but to punish their solemnization. The fact that there are large scale violations of the Act, particularly in rural areas is accepted even by the Government vide para 4.65 of the Report of the Committee on the Status of women in India.

What is the position in this regard in the villages selected? The survey revealed that all the respondents had married off their daughters well below the minimum age laid down in the Act viz between 10 and 12 (10-12). There is also a practice widely prevalent, to celebrate the marriage of all the daughters together to reduce expenditure. There were at least two respondents who had given in marriage their four daughters in the same ceremony, the youngest daughter's age being six or seven. The practice of child marriage, thus gets perpetuated by this special custom also. Sweet, little, young girls, quite unaware of what is happening to them joyously partake in the celebrations.

During our visit to Kaladwas, we came across a case of a Sadhu (Veragi) boy of 12-13 years, smartly dressed up in ceremonial attire for his marriage with a six year old girl on 10th December 1980 (see picture-2).

The villagers, when questioned, did not view the system as something wrong. They considered the practice as a part of their social life ingrained in their cultural milieu. The attitude of the officials was also almost similar. Sarpanch, who was asked during a dinner discussion, to take steps to eradicate this practice, kept silent. The collector hit the nail on the head with his spontaneous reaction, "Perhaps Sarpanch does not want to burn his fingers".

Thus the villages which are close to the district head-quarter with easy accessibility merrily go on perpetrating such gross violation of the statutory provisions with impunity. This deserves to be taken serious note of, and remedial measures initiated.

b) Dowry system: Dowry can be defined as the payment in kind or cash by the bride's family at the time of marriage. Dowry can again be considered a social evil which continues to operate defying the legislation in this regard. Any study of the social status will be incomplete without the actual details in this regard. The survey hence covered this aspect also.

The respondents were asked as to whether there is a system of dowry; if so is there an extraction? How do they view the system?

The answers revealed a similar pattern. The system of dowry in its worst aspects is not fortunately practised in this area. A few essential articles, are expected to be given by the bride's family and that too according to the capacity. These include Bevda (brass water pot), Thali (Plate), Goliya (bowl), Lota (Tumbler), Topla (Basket), Macha (Cot) and Pathriya (mattress). It is compulsory for the bridegroom's family to give silver jewels to the girl. These are Kadiya (anklet), Chudi (bangles), Bor (Tikki) and Wadi (Chain or necklace). These jewels are considered 'Stree dhan' and usually $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 kg. of silver are supposed to be given, which remain with the girl.

All the respondents felt that the system is good as there is no element of 'coercion' or 'compulsion' involved and there are occasions, when nothing has been given, due to poor financial conditions. There was also a feeling that to keep up the social status and respectability, it may be necessary to give the essential things.

c) Bride Price: Among the patrilineal group of scheduled tribe of Gametis, bride-price 'Dhapa' is practised. In the Parakhet settlement, attached to Kaladwas, the respondents generally mentioned a figure of Rs. 200 to 300 as the bride-price prevalent. It was also explained by them that the amount is to be spent on buying things for the girls. The table given in para 3.185 of

the report of the committee on the status of women in India indicates the present bride-price as Rs. 300-1000. Payment in cash or kind to the bride's father implies the exchange of authority over the bride which passes from her kin group to the bridegroom's kin group. It can also be inferred as a compensation paid for the loss of a productive worker.

The girl in her natal group thus gets some status as she is likely to bring monetary contributions. The birth of daughter is not therefore viewed with alarm. The age of marriage is also relatively high. For instance the thirteen year old Mitu, daughter of Hira, a mason was yet to be married and her father had fixed the bride-price at Rs. 200-300. The girl herself is also earning Rs. 6/- per diem which she hands over to her father(see picture-3).

d) Settlement of marital dispute: Normally, woman is not expected to break away from her husband unless valid reasons, such as no issues, exist. When she is permitted by Jathi Panchayats to live with another person after leaving her husband, the former has to pay Rs. 2000-3000 to the latter as a sort of compensation. However, when a girl's desertion is viewed as unethical and uncalled for, then the entire village may troop to the other village and force her to come back. There have also been occasions, in the not too distant past, when the girl was subjected to humiliating treatment in the hands of the village elders.

Thus, there is no system of divorce except in rare occasions when the compensation is paid to the ex-husband. There was at least one case of this type in the samples studied. The moral standards and the attitude of both men and women, high and low tended to be rather rigid and the women are not expected to swerve from the traditional image of mythological heroines of Sita, Savitri, Nalayani etc.

e) Flight of the widows: With large scale evidence of child marriages, it would have been a sordid state of affairs, if there is no system of widow re-marriage.

Fortunately, the outlook is slightly better in this regard. Except Brahmins, Rajputs, and Nagarachis all other castes claimed that the widows are socially permitted to live with another person. The custom goes by the name of 'nata'. The usual sanctimonious rites of the marriage are however not present. Five elders known as 'panchi' will visit the girl's home, take her to the home of the man to whom she is to be married, and leave her there.

The society permits such a practice only between widows and widowers. A bachelor cannot, however, marry a widow; his defiance will bring him into conflict with the society. He would be either treated as out caste with all the attendant social prohibitions and restrictions or made to pay a heavy fine which can range from anything between Rs. 2000 to Rs. 5000.

The girl given in 'nata', is also to observe certain injunctions during special occasions like marriage, worship, ceremony etc. On these occasions, she would not have the status of a full-fledged 'patni' instead she would be a 'widow' for these purposes.

Thus, it is evident, that the girl who becomes a widow is not economically made to suffer, as she is permitted to remarry though with all its limitations. However, as the Sarpanch of the Eklingspura village put it, the practice is valid legally but not religiously. Apart, from these disabilities, the custom of debarring bachelors from marrying widows, might lead to a situation where young girls would be marrying widowers, who could be their fathers. A detailed study of this aspect could not however be made for want of time.

Almost all the respondents, barring Brahmins and Rajputs, who do not have such a system among them, considered the system of 'nata' as good. Even among Brahmins, Parvathi bhai, the 22 year old wife of Radheshyam, expressed the view that re-marriage should be permitted. She felt that with the changing

values in the society, where brothers no longer feel morally responsible to take care of the widowed sisters, such girls lead a life of economic duress. In the circumstances, widow remarriage is a must at least for young widows, Parvati bhai asserts. On the other hand 55 year old panchayat member from Kaladwas, Chunni Bhai reflects the traditional outlook of Brahmins. She expressed the view that if a girl becomes a widow at her young age, it is an act of God, and has to be borne with traditional humility and forbearance. Remarriage should not be permitted under any circumstances, she says.

f) Marriage rites: Since the marriage takes place at a very young age, the question of girl's consent or boy's consent does not arise. Normally, the agreement for names is looked into by the priest. Girls are given four names at the time of birth and boys five names. Any one set of names should agree for the purpose of the marriage. Some people said, that they see 'Lagna' or the 'time of birth' also. There is no system of comparing horoscopes as horoscopes are not generally cast except among a few brahmins.

g) Other Social customs: The concept of 'pollution' and 'being unclean' during menses and after childbirth is an accepted phenomenon in the villages visited. Surprisingly, all the castes are observing this system. The restriction is for 4 to 5 days during menses and $1\frac{1}{2}$ months after child birth. Similarly 'Sooraj Pooja', worship of sun god, a celebration to mark the birth of a child, is common to all the castes. This is normally done on the ninth day. The celebration for the first child is on a lavish scale while for other children it tapers down. Similarly less expenditure is incurred in case of girls.

Thus the picture that emerges of the analysis is that while there are no major obstacles or impediments in the form of dowry, the obnoxious practices of child marriage is still prevalent. The system of remarriage or 'nata' at least gives economic security though it suffers from religious and social sanctions.

IV. Economic Status in the Community

We have already seen that women are major partners in the agricultural operations. Only a couple of respondents had independent means of income and all others were toiling partners in the field besides being the cross-bearers of household work. (See picture-4).

To find out the actual position regarding the economic status, the respondents were asked as to who controls the pursestrings. Nearly two third of the respondents revealed that male members continued to have control over the finances.

Another index about the economic status is the position regarding the acquisition of property both movable and immovable. The survey showed that in all the cases property was held in the name of the husband or other male members only. All of them said with one voice that it is not customary to have property in the name of female members in the village. Mangi Bhai, wife of Mohan Lalji, mentioned that she contributed substantially to the construction of a house, through her savings. She even sold her jewellery. On the other hand, Jiwa Bhai, wife of Khoomji Dangi, showed the bangles which she bought out of her savings.

Regarding the rights of inheritance there was not only a complete lack of awareness but also a feeling that since a substantial expenditure is incurred by way of marriage, the girls need not be given any share in the parental property.

Thus, economic independence, which alone can be a stepping stone for the elevation of the status of woman, was conspicuous by its absence. The role as perceived by them also was one of subordination and dependence and it will take many more years for them to come out of the shell.

It was however heart warming to note that they viewed the changing role of women in taking up employment as good and felt that such a step was welcome one. They did not treat with contempt nor did they look down upon the writer. In fact,

they showed respect and were highly courteous and hospitable. Overwhelmed by the hospitality, the writer had the opportunity of tasting their makki roti (roti made of maize) and repdi (a maize preparation in curd/butter milk).

V. Role in Social and Political Institutions

The village Panchayat had two lady members both of whom were nominated (see picture-5). Chunni Bhai, a Brahmin lady from Kaladwas and Modi Bhai, a Lohar woman from Eklingpura were asked about the role which they are playing. They feel that they are able to present individual grievances. Both of them attend the meetings fairly regularly. They consider supply of drinking water and provision of hospital as the essential needs which should be attended to.

All the respondents felt that the systems of giving representation to women was good as they can put forth their grievances. A few of them when specifically asked whether they would like to be a member, replied in the negative. They were shy, reluctant and diffident.

There is no Mahila Mandal in these areas. Only about one third of the ladies were willing to participate in the activities, if such a mandal was opened. Some others felt that they had no time, while a few others would join if their parents/husbands permitted. One of the dangi male respondent however said that such activities come after the family responsibilities of a women and would be permitted only if they do not come in the way.

The present survey reveals that nearly 75% of the female electorate of the village had exercised their franchise during the last elections. Except three persons all claimed that they took the decision on their own and nobody had influenced them. Considering the level of literacy and the orthodox structure of the society, this claim has to be taken with a pinch of salt.

Our observations show, dressed in colourful Lahenga, Sadi, and Polka or Kagra, Kanchli and Odni or Pomcha, the Rajasthani

women in these villages, did not show much of political awareness. Even while they gossip, either while on their way to fetching water or at home, their conversations are largely limited to routine household work (see picture-6).

More than ninety percent of them had no exposure to the mass media, viz films. They can verily be called "frogs in the well" or the "tortoise in their shells", but absolutely contented.

Conclusions

Family is the most important social institution which gives strength and stability to the Indian social structure. The family in turn is founded on the concept of 'Dharma' which a woman is expected to protect, with her sense of endurance, fire, firmness and unclouded determination. A Hindu woman is expected to show complete obedience to her husband and the nature of their union is irrevocable in meta-physical terms, if not legally. She craves for motherhood and birth of a son is a matter of rejoice for her. In the Hindu society, which has evolved beyond mere justice, the individuals invariably have to sacrifice something of themselves to maintain or support the harmony and continuity of the clan. In respect of women, such a sacrifice is total and complete which they readily accept.

The status of women in Eklingspura and Kaladwas, the villages under study falls neatly into the above accepted pattern. It was seen that the entire share of household work fell on the female members only as if the status of women consisted of routine family drudgery only. In addition, they bore a major brunt of the field work also. When it came to the question of decision making, it was observed that the women do not have a role to play even in routine decisions such as making purchases, not to speak of significant decisions regarding education marriage etc. Women thus played only a subsidiary or secondary role in the family and 'thinking' is considered to be

the domain of man, which incidentally is the meaning of the Sanskrit word 'man'.

Regarding the position of women in the family, it came to light that the birth of girl was not viewed with favour and they seemed to accept the Atharva Veda saying which runs as under.

'The birth of a girl, grant it elsewhere, here grant a boy'. Surprisingly, the girl having arrived in such a situation, did not have to face differential treatment with regard to food, clothing and medical care, if the opinions expressed by the respondents are to be accepted at its face-value.

The obvious discrimination however comes to surface when the question of education/^{of} girls crops up. Having seen that girls are expected to be the cross-bearers of household work, their attitude towards female literacy was not surprising. The school going girls constituted a mere one-seventh of the school going boys and the ratio at middle school level was a shocking 38:1 between boys and girls. Since education is the chief motive power which brings about changes in the attitudes, beliefs and values of the society, the abnormally low level of female literacy is to be viewed with concern.

Another index of inequality is the observance of restrictive practices, such as Purdah. Goonghat is observed by all the villagers including the normally open tribal society of Bhils known as Gametis in this area. Bhils are observing this probably due to the process of acculturation. The justification for the practice on the basis of respect for elders ingrained in their culture, came from all the respondents including the Sarpanch. The traditional Hindu society did not have such a practice and it is a ~~custom~~ adopted with the advent of muslims, as can be seen from the fact that none of the southern states observe the purdah system. Such a system stifles the growth of

female personality and makes her diffident. It is essential to eradicate this custom which, it is felt, can be achieved by stepping up efforts towards female education.

Apart from 'purdah', two other important features were noticed during the study. The women refused to give out the name of the husband. Similarly a majority of them took meals after the husband or other male member of the family. While personally, I consider these as fringe issues which does not really touch the magnitude of the problem of status of women, their existence along side other restrictive practices and low literacy, deserves to be taken special note of.

Socially, women of higher castes such as Brahmins, Rajputs etc. still suffer widowhood with patience and concept of re-marriage is an anathema to them. Lower castes are however liberated in this regard and due to custom of 'nata' women are at least provided with economic security, if not with religious sanction. The pernicious practice of dowry with its ugly overtones is not fortunately present, irrespective of the castes. However, they consider it necessary to give essential articles according to capacity. Bridegroom's family also spends on the girl by providing her with silver jewels. Considering the present value of silver, the amount involved in 'streedhan' as it is known may well be ^around Rs. 3000/- or so. Patriilineal tribe of Gametis have however a system of bride-price which is around Rs. 200-300.

The study revealed the widespread prevalence of child marriage which has been accepted even by the government wide para 4.65 of the Report of the committee on the status of women in India. This is an area where attitudinal support is lacking. It is sad to note that even after half-a-century of the enactment of the Sarda Act, people's attitudes have not changed. This is an aspect on which greater efforts and drive are needed!

Economically the status of the women of the villages does not reveal any significant departure from the traditional roles of dependence and subservience. Politically, the picture is not rosy though it can not be termed as complete white. At least they participate in the political process by exercising their franchise and casting their vote freely. They also view the political institutions such as Panchayat as something good.

Completely insulated, the women in the villages are not discontent with many aspects of life and do not crave for equality. In spite of the lipservice which has been paid ^{to equality} and is being paid starting from the founding fathers of the constitution, there is no significant alteration in the attitudes even after the passage of three decades of independence. The essence of Indian womanhood still lies in the qualities of self sacrifice and self-effacement, which alone are adored, valued and admired by both men and women.

It is therefore evident that any attempt to uplift the status of women should take note of the following two factors. Firstly it is necessary to create proper atmosphere for awareness and change in the outlook by the women themselves through education and other means. This should be followed by a radical change in the outlook of men for social acceptance of a more egalitarian distribution of roles in reality. The crying needs of the hour, therefore, are economic independence and social justice which alone can usher in better world and upliftment of the humanity!

STATUS OF WOMEN: A SURVEY OF THE KOLYAWODI
WARD OF NEMOM VILLAGE, DISTRICT TRIVANDRUM

- L. Mansingh,
6TH APPPA

It is perhaps indicative of the status of women in our society that none of the other male members of the group scheduled to study a village in the district of Trivandrum thought it appropriate to study this aspect in the selected village. Not that I was keen to take up this subject myself. I was left with this topic when my colleagues, taking advantage of my absence on the crucial day, divided up between themselves the other seven topics assigned to us leaving me with no other alternative but to accept it with grace.

It is perhaps even more symptomatic of the unconscious role-playing assigned to the women in our society determining their status vis-a-vis their male counterparts in the same strata of society is the fact that the other three of my brother officers (should I be calling them sister officers?) to have selected this particular topic in the other three groups happen to be ladies who only thought it natural and expected of them to chose this topic out of the eight assigned to each group. However, I draw my consolation from the fact

that mine will most likely be the only objective report of the four on the status of women in the selected villages.

Kerala was not the first choice of the group as far as the location of the village to be studied was concerned. The request of the group to be allowed to study a village in all its aspects in Sikkim, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Arunachal Pradesh were turned down in that order for reasons not known to the group. Kerala as the next choice of the group was accepted and Nemom village in district Trivandrum was selected for study in consultation with the district authorities. As it turned out, the group was lucky to have been finally sent to Kerala to carry out the village survey as the state, referred to sometimes, more than appropriately, as the untypical India, revealed its uniqueness through the micro-level study of one of its villages.

The untypicalness of Kerala itself created problems of comprehension and communication Nomenclature and terms generally accepted in the rest of India with more or less similar meaning attached to them could not, ipso facto, be applied to Kerala without serious and dangerous deviations from what they actually meant there. The first such problem cropped up while selecting a suitable village for the present survey in consultation with the district authorities. Of the two villages selected for us by the district authorities as per the guidelines supplied by the Institute, one had a population of over one lakh while the other, Nemom, which was finally selected for our study, had a population of 57,105. This,

naturally, raised doubts as to whether these villages could actually be termed as villages for the purposes of our study. As a matter of fact, my colleague from the U.P. cadre most reluctantly agreed to accept the selection of Nemom village for the purpose of our study after bitter arguments lasting over the first two days only on the assurance of no less a person than the Revenue Secretary to the Government of Kerala that he was willing to certify Nemom as a village in case any such doubt was raised subsequently by the Institute.

The problem did not end with the selection of the village for the study. As is well-known, houses in a typical /Village, Kerala/ are scattered over the entire area of the village in contrast to the usual cluster of houses in villages in the rest of the country. With the limited time available for the survey, it was really impossible to cover the entire village for a meaningful survey. It was, therefore, decided that the members of the group would select a particular ward out of the eleven in the village for their specific survey depending on their own requirements. For the present survey of the status of women, Kolyawodi ward (Ward No.10) was selected deliberately as it happened to be the only reserved ward for returning a member to the Nemom village panchayat with the largest concentration of Pullaya households in the village, Pullayas being the Scheduled Caste agricultural labourers.

Nemom village was originally formed in 1904 during survey and settlement of the area in the erstwhile princely state of Travancore. Originally, it formed a part of the

/in
Neyyattinkara Taluk but was subsequently included/Trivandrum Taluk at the time of the reorganization of the State.

National Highway No.47 cuts through the village as does the Trivandrum-Nagercoil Railway-line. It is bounded on the West by the Karanana River and villages of the Neyyattinkar Taluk on the east. The total area of the village is slightly over 7,268 acres.

As per the 1971 Census, the total population of the village is 57,105 with 28,117 males and 28,928 females. The higher ratio of females to males in the total population is in line with the ratio of the district which has 1,003 females per thousand males as per the 1971 Census. The density of population in the village is 850 per sq.km. which is less than the figure of 1,003 for the whole district.

Basic data about the Kolyawodi ward were difficult to obtain as ward-wise statistics are not regularly maintained. Fortunately, the Bureau of Economics and Statistics of Govt. of Kerala had conducted a survey of this particular ward as late as February, 1980. The following data about the ward have been obtained on the basis of the said survey:-

Total No. of Households - 561

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Population	2948	1504	1444
Regularly Employed	436	379	57
Self-employed	38	35	3
Casually-employed	101	92	9
Unemployed	231	189	142
Sch.Castes	428		
Sch.Tribes	13		

As per the information supplied by the Block Development Officer, there are only 3 households in the ward owning more than 5 acres of land, 20 households owning 2.5 to 5 acres of land and 427 households owning less than 2.5 acres of land.

According to him, as many as 140 households are below the poverty-line with another 228 households belonging to the low income category.

Of the total households in the ward, 78% are Hindus, 11% are Muslims and Christians each. There is no Brahmin household in the village. Over 70% of the Hindu households belong to the Nair community which is the dominant caste. 15% of Hindu households belong to the Scheduled Caste category known locally as Pullayas who form the bulk of the land-less agricultural labourers in the ward. The remaining Hindu households belong to lower castes like Ezhavas and other backward castes like Nadars.

Primary data for the survey was collected from 33 households of the ward through interviews with some of the members of the household. The households selected for this purpose were identified on the basis of the first three digits of the random table applied to the house numbers allotted by the Nemom village Panchayat. While a prepared questionnaire was used while conducting the personal interviews, a great degree of flexibility was maintained in departing from or adding to or altering the questionnaire to get the best and appropriate responses from the respondents.

Inability to communicate directly with the respondents in Maliyali proved to be a major handicap and I had to fall-back on the imperfect but unavoidable alternative of communicating through interpreters. Fortunately, we were lucky enough to get some unofficial and competent interpreters to help us in our survey. The other major handicap was that, being a male, it was not an easy task to engage the female respondents in a frank and forth-right discussion on the various aspects of status of women. I was helped to overcome this handicap to a large extent by the fact the Maliyalis, whatever may be their other faults, cannot be blamed for being reticent. On the contrary, the female respondents on occasions asked the interpreter as to why we were blushing.

With the preliminaries over, we now got down to tackle the main subject. I must confess that when I reluctantly agreed to do this assignment, one of the reasons for my acceptance was the fact that I considered the topic under consideration to be an easy one. However, the fallacy of my thinking became apparent the moment we initiated our survey. While walking through a green haze with cononut fronds rustling and forming a green canopy overhead, it occurred to me that this was a topic which was not only hackneyed and stereo-typed but also its analysis suffered from what I would call the Femina-Eaves Weekly Syndrome. So far the topic has agitated only a miniscule urban elite in this country, possibly as the result of a desire to follow a basically western movement. It is not surprising, therefore, that the yardsticks

developed to measure the status of women are generally more relevant to developed western Societies and have practically no use when one comes to judge the status of somebody like Rajamma Pullaya who does not know where her next meal is going to come from. Incidentally, if one goes by Ms. Greer's bra-burning as the symbol of women's liberation, the Maliyalee women can be said to have regressed considerably since the days when they were made to go topless, if one uses a modern-day parlance, as even the poorest Pullaya woman can now be noticed to be wearing a pair of brassiers.

Even when one ignores the elitist concept of status of women and comes to consider the stark realities of life of the general mass of our women, one is still faced with the difficulty as to whether there is any such thing as the ideal status of women in any society. What is the starting point in a study like this? How far does one go back in history and before that the evolution of homo sapiens to find out how, where and when male domination started in human and pre-human society even when we accept the doubtful feminist contention that male superiority is not based on biological necessities but is a clever and convenient concept developed by the males? Was there ever any basis to the mythical concept of a kingdom in the Amazen basin where the women ruled supreme? Because the mind boggles when we go into the rather philosophical aspects of the topic, I have decided to play safe and confine myself to the mundane aspects such as quality of life of the respondents

in the village under study. Were they denied the basic amenities of life or were discriminated against merely on the ground of their sex? My endeavour would be to first outline the historical background of the status of women in Kerala and to compare, to the extent possible, what was disclosed by our survey with what is commonly believed to be the status of women in Kerala to-day.

We start with Parasurama, the Bramhin incarnation of Lord Vishnu, who is credited, amongst others, with the creation of the land of Kerala. It is important to understand from the very beginning that the myth surrounding Parasuram was obviously a creation of the Namboodiri Bramhins to perpetuate their dominance over the other castes through religious sanction since Parasuram is stated to have brought the original 64 families of Namboodiri Bramhins to settle and rule in the land of Kerala which he got created out of the sea. Very conveniently for the Namboodiri males, Parasuram ordained the Nair women, as per Brahminical texts, "Put off chastity and clothes that cover your breasts and devote yourselves to satisfy the desires of Brahmins". The reasons for this most extra-ordinary sexual licence granted in favour of males of a superior caste over the women of a lower caste could be the practice followed amongst the Namboodiris to allow only the eldest son to marry most probably to safeguard against the fragmentation of their land holdings.

The above practice had its impact on both the castes. Since only the eldest male member of the patrilineal joint family of the Namboodiri Brahmins, called the illam, was allowed to marry, polygamy was allowed to the extent of four wives. In spite of this, many Namboodiri girls were condemned to lead lives of perpetual spinsterhood. On the other hand, under the custom of Sambandham, the Namboodiri men who were ineligible to marry could have sexual contacts with Nair women under the sanction of Parasuram's dictate. This led to the adoption of Marumakkathayam or the system of matrilineal descent and inheritance amongst the Nairs. This also led to the development poly-andry amongst Nair women, with a woman often shared by a visiting Namboodiri paramour and a Nair husband.

The above custom, abominable as it may seem now, actually led to the comparatively better status enjoyed by the Nair women as compared to women elsewhere in contemporary India. First of all, they had considerable say in the affairs of the tarwad, the Nair family unit which consisted of all the descendants of a common ancestress in the female line, and enjoyed considerable security and freedom. Marriages were simple affairs with the wife continuing to stay in her tarwad with the husband becoming a 'visiting husband'. Divorce was equally simple with the marriage being terminable by either party and consisted of either the husband ceasing to visit the wife's tarwad or the wife simply closing the door on the unwanted spouse. The scourge

of dowry was absent as the wife continued to stay in her own tarwad with full rights of inheritance. Widow re-marriage was permissible. In any case, a Nair widow was spared the humiliation and torture a widow at that time had to undergo elsewhere in the country because of the fact that she did not stay with her in-laws. The general impact of this practice also led to the raising the mean age of marriage of the Nair girls as there was no compulsion to marry off a girl even before she attained puberty. The mean age of marriage for females in Kerala during 1901-10 was as high as 17.13 yrs as compared to 13.2 yrs for the whole country. This, in its turn, allowed for the spread of female literacy when the Christian missionaries and the enlightened rulers of the erstwhile princely states in Kerala set up various educational institutions for this purpose. As a result, the female literacy rate is as high as 54.31% as per the 1971 Census as compared to 18.44% for the whole country.

All these factors, taken together with the various social and statutory reforms initiated as long back as 1925 by the rules of the land and its leaders, have led to the fact that the women of Kerala enjoy a much higher status in life as compared to the status of their sisters elsewhere in the country. The District Gazetteer of Trivandrum, published in 1962, states with assurance that "women in Trivandrum enjoy much freedom and respect in society", in the chapter 'Economic Dependence of women and Their Place in Society'. It is the intention of this study to test as to how far this assertion is correct by surveying the actual conditions under which the women in the test village carried

on their day-to-day work in order to determine, to the extent possible, the quality of the life that they lived. As far as comparison of the status enjoyed by the women in the test village with the status of women in villages in other parts of the country is concerned, conclusions can only be drawn when the results of the survey conducted by the other three participants in other states are received.

Let us first assess as to what extent the women in the 33 sample households contributed to the family's income. Here, caste differences came in to sharp focus both in the respondent's attitude towards working women and women actually contributing to the family kit through their own earnings. Whereas 78% of the Pullaya households surveyed had one or more working women, only 36% of the Nair households had women going out to work. Out of the remaining 12% of Pullaya household, in 7% of the cases the women did not work on health grounds. Only in 5% of the samples did the women not work because of the disapproval of their men.

As against this, 51% of the Nair men did not like the idea of their wives working outside the house. In one case, a wealthy Nair who had married a lower caste Nadar woman (belonging to Other Backward Castes) who was working in his brick kiln not only not stopped her from continuing to work after marriage but also had very pronounced views against working women. Surprisingly, in all cases where the men did not wish their wives to work, they stated that they would have no objection to their daughters working.

While the working Nair women, true to the tradition of their men, only undertook white-collar jobs (would it be more appropriate to call them white-sari jobs?), almost all Pullaya working women worked side-by-side with their men as agricultural labourers. However, in one case a trained Pullaya woman was looking for a job in a printing press as a compositor. In as many as 68% of the Pullaya households having school-going daughters, the girls were being sent to school against all odds so that their job prospects improved.

It is, therefore, obvious that while economic compulsions are breaking down the mental block against working women, male conservatism in this regard still persists. For example, Ambi Pullaya, representing Kolyawadi ward in the Nemom Village Panchayat, was equivocal in having his wife work after he got married. This viewpoint was rather surprising in a 29 year old Pullaya young man, politically aware and belonging to the CPI(M) Party, and points to the ambivalence that still exists in this regard in the Maliyali society in spite of spreading of female literacy and employment. However, as far as the present school and college-going generation is concerned, in none of the sample households, irrespective of caste, a distinction was sought to be made between boys and girls in the matter of taking up jobs after they finished their education.

This brings us to the severe discrimination being practiced in the matter of differential wage rates applicable to male and female workers. On an average, the

male agricultural labourers were paid Rs. 15 per day while their female counterparts were paid Rs. 10 per day or less. The justification for this, apart from being customary, was that the female labourers were incapable of doing hard manual labour such as digging a field for tapioca cultivation. The women merely accepted the lower wage and invariably stated that they saw no purpose in protesting against it as it was customary. When it was pointed out to them that both men and women got paid at the same rate of Rs. 11.80 per day by the Railways in the same area, they simply shrugged their shoulders. Even Ambi Pullaya, the CPI(M) Panchayat member representing the ward, saw nothing unjust in the practice. More surprising is the official sanction behind such a differential wage rate. The minimum agricultural wages as fixed by the Kerala Government stipulates the minimum wage for male labourers at Rs. 9 per day and Rs. 7 per day in case of female labourers.

As regards the earnings of a women in a household, in none of the households, excluding households headed by widows or deserted women, did the women retain the right to spend or save her own earnings. In 56% of the households with working women. The wife was merely given a small sum and was asked to manage the household within that amount. In 30% of such households, the husband retained the entire amount, including his wife's earnings, and merely purchased whatever provisions the wife requested him to buy. In the remaining households, it was stated that the combined earnings were spent or saved on the basis of joint decisions.

In only 30% of all sample households was any property in the name of a woman. In all these cases, except one, the property was inherited by the women concerned. Even when some property was purchased with the money obtained from the sale of property or ornaments belonging to the wife, the property so purchased was invariably entered in the name of the husband. In the single exception where the property was transferred in the name of the wife, the motive did not appear to be any concern for the wife. The husband, a wealthy Nair, probably did so with a view to save on income tax or other legal consequences of his business as he indulged in illegal money-lending.

As far as female education is concerned, no discrimination was in evidence in any of the households, irrespective of caste or state of financial well-being, against girls as compared to boys. As a matter of fact, all children of school-going age, irrespective of sex, were found to be attending school regularly. In some cases, girls were found to be continuing in school even though the boys had dropped out either because of failure to pass or for financial reasons. The reason for this appears to be, as has been mentioned earlier, that girls have potentially the same earning capacity for the family as the boys. There were cases where girls had attended vocational training courses to improve their employment potential.

A great deal of conservatism was observed in the matter of arranging marriages. 87% of all sample households, irrespective of caste, level of education and financial

well-being, had arranged marriages. In the remaining cases, only one Nair had married on his own a lower caste Nadar woman. It appears that this Nair has been isolated from the rest of the community because of this reason. The rest of the respondents who had married on their own were all Pullayas who had invariably taken Pullaya spouses of their choice. In one such cases, the Pullaya boy had to leave his house and stay with his in-laws as his family did not approve of the marriage although it was within their own caste. However, 89% of all the Pullaya respondents stated that they would have no serious objection if their children married on their own although they would like to arrange the marriage. It may, however, be mentioned here that this attitude would be shown as long as the marriage was within the caste or with somebody in a higher caste. None of the Pullayas would allow their children to marry a Paraya, who is considered to be one rung lower than the Pullayas in the complicated caste hierarchy of Kerala although both of them belong to the Scheduled Caste community.

The higher-caste Nair households showed far greater conservatism than the Pullayas in this regard. Even the Nair who had married a lower caste woman on his own was not prepared to allow his children to marry on their own when they grew up. A case was reported to us where, in the neighbouring ward, a Nair family was so ashamed when one of their girls married a Pullaya boy that they moved

out of the village after selling away all its property including the girl's share, in effect disinheriting her. In another case, there was considerable opposition to the marriage of one of the Pillai Nair girls to a Veluthedathu-^anair, considered to be lower sub-caste within the Nair caste hierarchy. It is interesting to note that in this sample household, the father and the six children were all graduates with all the girls either working or waiting for a job.

The impact of the spread of female education on the traditional attitude towards marriage was very much in evidence in the case of Shailaja (name changed to protect the privacy of the respondent) belonging to the above household. She is highly educated with an M.A degree in Economics followed by a Bachelor degree in Library and Information Sciences, aware, intelligent with definite views regarding matters concerning her. She would very much like to marry on her own. She was even prepared to marry out of caste but only if her father did not object. She made it very clear that she would be willing to defy her father in this regard if it came to that but was hopeful that the situation would not come to pass in view of the reconciliation between her sister, who had married a Nair of a lower sub-caste, and her father.

The awareness of all the respondents regarding the need to adopt family planning was most impressive. Except one Nair household, all the couples of child-bearing age

had been operated on. In the exceptional case, neither the husband nor the wife got operated on as they could not decide as to who should be operated with the result that the family has eight children without the financial means to support them. Of those who have been operated on 77% happened to be women. In most cases, the men were reluctant to get themselves operated on as they were scared that it would affect their vitality and weaken them. In all these cases, the women supported this view.

There did not seem to be much discrimination against women as far as religious rituals are concerned. As far as regularly going to the temples were concerned, it appears that the majority of the men defaulted and it was left to the women to propitiate the appropriate god. In the other functions concerning birth, puberty of a girl, marriage etc. women participation is almost equal to that of men. However, women are not allowed to accompany a funeral procession as in other parts of the country. It also appears that even now, welcoming ullulating noises are made by the women only in the case of the birth of a boy and not in the case of a girl.

Every Hindu male in this area considers it important to undertake an annual pilgrimage to the Savarimalai Temple in the Kottayam district during December-January after a prescribed period of penance and purification. However, women are not allowed to undertake this pilgrimage and only girls before they attain puberty and women above the age of sixty are allowed to accompany their male relatives.

It is the usual practice amongst Nairs, confirmed by the survey, that the male members of the family eat first with the women serving them and eating only after they have finished. This obviously affected the women's nutritional intake as the lion's share of the food, particularly the protein rich items like fish, was consumed by the males. 93% of the Nair males were not concerned about what their wives and daughters ate after they had finished the meals. The usual reply was that the women managed and that there was no problem in this regard.

In sharp contrast to the above practice by the Nairs, the Pullayas had the tradition of both males and the females in the family eating together. This, however, did not ensure that the males and the females shared equally the available food and nutrition. As cheap varieties of fish were the only protein supplement to a meagre Pullaya meal of tapioca-rice gruel, the best portions of the fish were invariably served to the males while the females had to share the remains of heads and tails of the fish. Because of such practices, nutrition level available to women irrespective of caste appeared to be generally low.

In the case of Joshua, a Christian agricultural labourers of the Nadar community (please note how the caste identity has persisted even after conversion to Christianity), the wife Gomati was given a minor share of the household's earnings and was asked to manage a household consisting of Joshua's mother and their four children within that amount. Joshua himself retained the major portion of his

earnings with himself and ate out on the ground that he had to keep up his strength by eating good food to be able to work. On the day the survey was carried out at around 3 P.M., none of the household had eaten their meal as there was no food in the house.

None of the women respondents, irrespective of caste or level of education, was found to be active in the field of social work. Only few of the girls were found to be going to the local Mahila Samajam to learn things like sewing etc. Social intercourse between the ladies even in the same neighbourhood was not very pronounced. In other words, the women, by and large, spent even their spare time within the confines of their respective homes.

Although all the women respondents voted in the elections, none of them were actually active in canvassing for a particular party or candidate. In fact, 87% of the women respondents stated that they voted as per the advice of their husbands.

Arrack-drinking was found to be quite common amongst the Scheduled Caste Pullayas. This habit is confined entirely to the men as it is considered taboo for the women to enter the arrack shops. Apart from licensed arrack shops which can be found at frequent intervals all over Kerala, illegal distillation is believed to be fairly common. While 97% Pullaya males admitted that they imbibe arrack fairly regularly, none of the Nair males agreed that he was in the habit of taking

liquor. However, privately some of the young men of this community informed us that drinking was very common amongst all Nair males.

The direct result of the habit of regular drinking seems to be the wide prevalence of wife-beating on a regular basis. 90% of the arrack-drinking Pullayas admitted of regularly assaulting their respective wives. In the remaining cases, the wives stated that they took pains to ensure that the husband was not provoked when he was in an inebriated state and kept quiet whatever the provocation. There was an instance when the son-in-law, staying with his in-laws, assaulted the wife in the presence of the girl's parents. When the parents told us that they intervened in two out of ten such incidents, the son-in-law complained to us in their presence that they were doing so because he was staying in their house. If he was staying in his own house, nobody could have prevented him from beating his wife.

None of the Nairs admitted of beating their wives. However, each one stated that while he did not do so, the other Nairs certainly did. It was also generally stated that Nairs considered wife-beating a sign of manliness. From this, one can safely gather the impression that wife beating is almost equally prevalent amongst the higher caste Nairs.

It has earlier been mentioned that the Nairs and the other castes who followed the matrilineal system were spared the scourge of the evil of dowry. Ironically, with

the gradual erosion of the matrilineal system and the adoption of patrilineal system, dowry has become prevalent amongst all castes. It was really pathetic to be told by Nadar and Pullaya parents, barely able to eke out an existence, that they will have to pay something like four to five thousand rupees to get their daughters married. Not that this practice is confined to the lower castes. The wealthiest amongst the Nairs in the sample households, whose marriage out of caste has earlier been mentioned, proudly stated that were he to get married to-day, he would get as much dowry as an IAS officer because of his wealth and business.

Of the women respondents, 83% stated that they were happy with the way they lived while 10 % stated that it was just satisfactory. The remaining respondents were down-right dissatisfied with their lives. It may be cautioned, however, that this may not be taken at its face value as confirming that women generally were satisfied with their lot in this village. As one poor Asari woman (Other Backward Castes) shot back at me, "supposing I am dissatisfied with my life, what do I do?" I had no answer to this.

Probably because of their helplessness, the women, even those who were dissatisfied with the lives they were leading, continued to stoically accept their lot. In one case, a young Pullaya woman said that on occasions she went away to her parent's house when her husband ill-treated her

and beat her but had to come back to her husband's house each time after waiting futilely for her husband to come and take her back. Only one young Pullaya woman, amongst all the women respondents in similar situations, deserted by her husband after she had a baby, showed some spirit by stating that she will refuse to go even if her husband come back to take her. She was barely managing to make a living through agricultural labour.

In conclusion, it can be said that although these women have come a long way since the days when Parasurama's dictate was strictly enforced, they have miles to go before they can hope have a place in the society commensurate with the dignity and self-respect that is due to them. In any case, it is at best a patchy development where they have gained considerably in fields like education while floundering behind in most other fields under the weight of custom, tradition and conventional attitude. One good thing which could not escape notice was the awareness about their own situations that has lately been developed amongst them even in the poorest households. It is the awareness of an poor Asari woman to have herself operated on after four daughters without waiting to have a son. It also shows in the decision of a Pullaya couple to have the husband operated on after having four sons when they could not fulfil the desire to have a daughter. Determination to survive and face the future by fighting with one's fate, that is Lalitha,

a young Pullaya widow, who decides not to marry for the sake of the children even though there is no restriction on widow remarriage and tries to get the children educated to the best of her ability by working in the agricultural fields. Our lasting impression of this village would be the smiling Pullaya women, frank and forthright, bubbling with enthusiasm even though most of them do not know when and where their next meal is coming from. With this kind of awareness, nobody can hold them back from their rightful positions in the society indefinitely.

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

VILLAGE STUDY

Jhanjhari - Karnal District - Haryana

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

SIXTH ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

VILLAGE STUDY

JHANJHARI - KARNAL DISTRICT - HARYANA

(December 1 - 10, 1980)

1. General Introduction:
2. Cropping and Input use pattern : Hans Raj
3. Condition of Agricultural Labour: A.K.P. Unny
4. Pattern of Indebtedness & Bondage: R.D. Arya
5. Aspirations (Small farmers/
Landless labourers) : Arun Kumar
6. Inter-caste Relations : R. K. Takkar
7. Perception of Development and
Change : S. C. Anand
8. Consumption pattern : P. K. Brahma
9. Status of Women : Surinder Kaur (Smt)

THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, NEW DELHI.

1. General observations:

1.1 As a part of the village study programme, a group of eight participants from the Sixth APPPA course (names given in Annexure I) conducted a study of a village in Haryana with special reference to the social and economic aspects of the life of the villagers. The village selected for the purpose is called Jhanjhari, a multi-caste one, situated about 9 kms. from Karnal, a district town of Haryana, towards Ambala on the G.T. Road (renamed as Sher-Shah Suri Marg) about a kilometre away from the Haryana Tourism Development Corporation (Oasis) Tourist Complex (Karna Lake). Jhanjhari a small village, of comparatively recent origin, not more than about 300 years, believed to be an outcamp of Shangarh, the nucleus village, has lately developed into a revenue village. There are several similar villages around and all these villages retain horizontal as well as some vertical relationships and contacts with Jhanjhari, through common services in nodal villages and social intercourse including marriages. The village has brick-paved lanes inside and tarred roads serving as the main thoroughfare.

1.2 The terrain of the village is uniformly plain. It lies in the Jamuna plains, on its eastern side and is in the command area of the Jamuna canal network. The village is reputed to have good cultivable soil.

1.3 The G.T. Road passes through the village, giving it a great accessibility. The nearest railway station is Bhaini Khurd, 3 kms. away from the village.

1.4 The climate, like rest of the State and most of the northern plains, is extreme. The average rainfall is 61 cms. per year. The total area of this village is about 624 acres (2.5 sq. kms.) Of this, an area of about 450 acres is fully irrigated and cultivated. The irrigation is through canal water, supplemented almost 50% by supplies from tube-wells.

1.5 The total population of the village as per the 1971 census was 874 (451 males and 417 females). It is estimated to be 1278 as on date (as per the ration card register), comprising of 212 households. The entire population, except about 35 to 40 households belonging to the Deh community, is concentrated on the eastern side of the GT Road, in an area of about 16 acres. The Deh community had recently settled down in the village (about 50 years ago) on the western side of the road. This part of the village is called "Deh-on-ka-Dera" or Chhoti Jhanjhari.

2. Methodology followed by the group:

2.1 The methodology followed by the group was "participant observation". The group familiarised themselves with the village environments by visiting the place every day from December 2 to 9. No formal questionnaire was used. They contacted a large number of persons from the village, as a representative cross-section. The Sarpanch, members of the Panchayat belonging to the Harijan communities, the only lady member of the panchayat, the teachers of the village school, the village barber, mochi(cobbler), the only bonded labourer in the village, the most out-spoken of the Ror community(Ran Singh) aged about 75 years (who just did not mince his words regarding his staunch views about the caste hierarchy), a Khatri shopkeeper, a pensioner who gets a destitute pension from the Haryana Government, a medically unfitted BSF employee(Asha Ram), an unemployed youth from the Deh community(educated, but having failed in his attempts to make a living), women from the Deh and Balmiki communities, were only some of those who were spoken to by the group.

3. Social set-up of the village:

3.1 The population of the village is entirely of Hindu religion, the Muslims having migrated in 1948 to another Muslim dominated village. There is no Sikh family either. The families are all patriarchal and mostly joint families. However, instances of sons setting up separate families are not uncommon. The cultivation is done jointly as a family holding, the separated members getting their due shares.

3.2 The village has distinct vertical subdivisions. The caste-wise break-up of the households in the village is given in Annexure II. The dominant caste is 'Ror' by way of numbers, land holdings and affluence. The Dehs, the lowest in the caste hierarchy, live on the western side of the G.T. road; the Harijans have houses at one end, on the eastern side, in a cluster. They have their own wells and although the higher caste members including the Sarpanch insist that they have done away with untouchability and that there would be no objection to Harijans drawing water from the higher caste wells, they add that nevertheless the convention has never been broken and no one from one community has attempted to draw water from the well of the other community. Harijans still do not sit on the same charpoys(cots) as the others, though they may well be given a chair to sit! They felt that even this would have been unheard of some years ago and it may take another generation or two to cut away the barrier further. They admit that modern institutions, work relationships and mass transportation means have changed the situation considerably. No untouchability is practised in the school.

3.3 There is no temple in the village. It, however, shares a temple with village Dadupur, where the presiding deity is Lord Shiva. There is one Syed's grave. There are also a few places for worshipping the Mata (Devi), in and around the village.

4. Economic condition of the villagers:

4.1 The major occupation of the village is agriculture. All the cultivable lands are owned by Rors, except for a couple of small holdings of Brahmins. The pattern of land holdings is given in Annexure III.

4.2 Land holdings now are entirely proprietary although instances of Saajhedari (partnership) were cited usually in the case of absentee landlords. Some crop-sharing is also practised where facilities like ploughing or irrigation are extended by one farmer to another. It was noticed that the big landlords hold lands in the names of family members to stay within the land ceiling limits. There were some surplus lands allotted to the landless, mostly Harijans, but were again bought off by the big landlords, presumably Benami.

4.3 The main crops grown in the village are wheat, rice and sugar-cane. Pulses and vegetables are not generally grown on commercial scale. The traditional market for grains is Taraori, about 10 kms. away from the village, whereas sugarcane is taken to co-operative sugar mills in Karnal.

4.4 Lohars (blacksmiths) used to be traditional artisans, but today they have established repair-shops, service stations, etc. for tractors, cycles, motor-cycles and other equipment commonly in use. Some of them have gone out of the village for pursuing similar vocations.

4.5 The Balmikis, traditionally sanitation workers, do undertake agricultural labour; quite a number of them are employed in canal work and in electricity department in a variety of jobs, starting on daily wages and getting absorbed as permanent workers, mainly in Group D categories.

4.6 Almost a similar situation prevails in the case of other Harijans, like Chamars, the traditional leather and skin workers. Except for one Mochi (Cobbler), there was none from this community who was pursuing the traditional profession.

4.7 The Dehs who are deemed as the lowest in the caste hierarchy are artisans, making reed-winnows (Chhaaj). They do not do any work in the fields. The winnow-making is done both by the male and female members. Some male members from this community make a living as wandering salesmen of cotton fabrics, bought in wholesale from Panipat or Karnal. The other male members sell winnows to agriculturists not only in the village, but also in villages far away.

4.8 The Gadariyas whose traditional work used to be to look after sheep, belong to the backward classes. There being no grazing field as such, they have to keep their sheep stall-fed. They do not own any land and they are now mainly agricultural labour.

4.9 The Khattris, evacuees from West Pakistan, are petty traders in general merchandise.

4.10 It has not been possible to assess with a great degree of accuracy the total income or the per capita income. However, the pattern that emerged suggests that the farmers get a net average income of about Rs.2500 per acre per year. Agricultural labour get Rs.7 to Rs.8 (male) and Rs.5 to Rs.6 (female). They have work for only about 150 days in a year. Artisans (loharis) earn Rs.6 to Rs.7 per day and those having workshops and modern implements make about Rs.500 per month. The government jobs get an income of about Rs.250 to Rs.600 per month, depending on the type and nature of assignments. The Dehs earn anything between Rs.200 to Rs.350 per month, their earnings going up around the harvest time. The lot of the old and disabled landless was miserable. They seem to survive on the charity of the villagers or their relatives.

4.11 It would not be incorrect to assume that the families having no land and no job in any establishment are definitely below the poverty line. Even the sole Balmiki member of the gram panchayat is living on doles. Possibly to avoid lowering the prestige of the Panchayat, he is being helped in various ways by the prosperous landlords and others, by providing clothes and some easy chores.

4.12 Most of the houses of the Rors, the dominant caste, and some houses of the Harijans are pucca. The houses of the majority of Harijans and also of all the Dehs are kutcha. The Dehs' dwellings are not electrified either. Their immediate need, as per their spokesman, is pucca electrified houses for all of them.

4.13 In so far as agricultural practices are concerned, mechanisation has taken place in the village. There are 5 tractors and trailers, 8 threshers and 32 tubewells and pumps.

4.14 The village has a total of 155 heads of buffalos and 127 heads of cows/bullocks. The milk produced is partly consumed and partly sold. Most of the cattle heads are owned by the land-owners, almost proportionately to the land-holdings. Only 3 Harijans (who own no land) own milch cattle.

5. Infra-structural facilities:

5.1 There is a co-operative society branch in the village, which caters to the needs of the neighbouring villages also. The society gives loans to the members in cash and in kind (like fertilisers). It has a membership of 502 members at present.

5.2 On the western side of the G.T. Road, a new veterinary unit has been opened under the charge of a full time veterinary doctor. This centre caters to the needs not only of Jhanjhari, but also of the neighbouring villages. It is also a breeding centre.

5.3 There is a fair price shop in the village. Sugar and controlled cloth are supplied through this shop. The villagers complained that the supplies of controlled cloth were irregular.

5.4 As far as medical facilities are concerned, the village needs are met from the government dispensary located at Uchana village, about 1.5 kms. away. There are two Dais (midwives) in the village, who attend to the maternity needs. There is one Homeopath doctor, belonging to the Balmiki community, but he is employed far away from the village and is seldom available for any help to the residents.

6. Educational facilities:

6.1 There is a primary school and a Balwadi in the village. The Balwadi has 30 toddlers on roll and the primary school 110, 80 boys and 30 girls. There are three teachers in the school, including a lady teacher. The village depends on the higher secondary schools at Shangarh and Uchana and on the colleges at Karnal for higher education. There are 2 post-graduates, 3 graduates and about a dozen matriculates in the village. The study revealed that the awareness to have education was more amongst the scheduled caste communities when compared to the others.

7. Political awareness:

7.1 The village panchayat has 9 members, 3 belonging to the Harijan communities. There is also a lady member in the panchayat. The Sarpanch (Jai Singh) belongs to the Ror caste.

7.2 Politically, the village is quite enlightened. The villagers are aware of the vote-soliciting practices of the politicians. The village has the pride of having a

Minister in the Haryana Government (Shivram Verma), belonging to the Ror community. The villagers decide on the pattern of voting en-bloc, community-wise, after deliberations amongst themselves.

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Names of the participants who conducted the village study of Jhanjhari (Haryana).

Annexure I.

A.K.P. Unny
Arun Kumar
Hans Raj
P.K. Brahma
R.D. Arya
R.K. Takkar
S.C. Anand
Surinder Kaur (Smt).

Caste-wise break-up of the households of Jhanjhari.

Annexure II

Ror ..	70
Brahmin ..	7
Lohar ..	9
Gadariya (Charwaha)	25
Balmiki ..	35
Chamar ..	25
Deh ..	35
Khatri ..	5
Jheevan ..	1

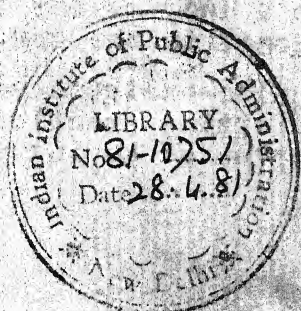
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Break-up of land holdings of village Jhanjhari.

Annexure III

Upto 2.5 acres ..	32 households
Between 2.5 & 5 acres	20 "
Between 5 and 10 acres	55 "
Above 10 acres	12 "

	119 households



Minister in the Haryana Government (Shivram Verma), belonging to the Ror community. The villagers decide on the pattern of voting en-bloc, community-wise, after deliberations amongst themselves.

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